

## **Aspects of the monastic patronage of the English and French royal houses 1130-1270.**

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ASPECTS OF THE MONASTIC PATRONAGE OF THE ENGLISH

AND FRENCH ROYAL HOUSES, c. 1130-1270

by

Elizabeth M. Hallam

vol 1

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## S U M M A R Y

This study takes as its theme the relationship of the English and French kings and the religious orders, c.1130-1270. Patronage in general is a field relatively neglected in the rich literature on the monastic life, and royal patronage has never before been traced over a broad period for both France and England. The chief concern here is with royal favour shown towards the various orders of monks and friars, in the foundations and donations made by the kings. This is put in the context of monastic patronage set in a wider field, and of the charters and pensions which are part of its formal expression. The monastic foundations and the general pattern of royal donations to different orders are discussed in some detail in the core of the work; the material is divided roughly according to the reigns of the kings. Evidence from chronicles and the physical remains of buildings is drawn upon as well as collections of charters and royal financial documents. The personalities and attitudes of the monarchs towards the religious hierarchy, the way in which monastic patronage reflects their political interests, and the contrasts between English and French patterns of patronage are all analysed, and the development of the royal monastic mausoleum in Western Europe is discussed as a special case of monastic patronage. A comparison is attempted of royal and non-royal foundations based on a statistical analysis. The siting and architectural style of royal monasteries, the political implications of monastic patronage, and the extent to which royal patronage affected religious orders are also examined; finally there is a brief treatment of royal patronage after c.1270. Transcripts of unprinted charters and photographs of royal monasteries are included as pièces justificatives.

## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

Particular thanks are due to Professor C.N.L. Brooke for his unfailing help and encouragement and his constructive criticisms made throughout the course of this work. I am also indebted to Professor R.M.T. Hill and Dr. David Bates for invaluable suggestions and advice.

I would like to thank the staffs of the Institute of Historical Research and other central and local archives in France and England for a great deal of assistance. Finally to my parents and my husband go thanks of a different kind, for their patience and help in seeing the work through to its completion.



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## Chapter I

### THE IDEAS, THE NATURE AND THE FUNCTIONING OF ROYAL PATRONAGE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

#### 1. The Study and the Sources.

Geoffrey of Beaulieu wrote of Louis IX of France:

... 'quis enarrare sufficeret, quam largas et frequentas elemosinas pius rex assidue erogaret pauperibus religiosis ac conventibus plurimis tam sanctimonialium quam virorum, similiter hospitalibus pauperum, ac domibus leprosarum, et aliorum collegiis pauperum, tamquam specialis pater eorum? Sane, cum inter caetera pietatis opera singulis annis solitus esset circa principium hiemis conventibus fratrum minorum et fratrum praedicatorum Parisiensium summam pecuniae elargiri pro suis necessitatibus providendis ... et eb ineunte aetate domus et monasteria religiosorum coepit aedificare'. 1

Hagiographers have used such royal largesse as evidence of the sanctity of Saint Louis, but historians have rarely examined in a wider context the gifts of this kind made by kings to the religious orders. This study attempts to remedy the lacuna in a relatively limited field. It is concerned with the interest in and the favour shown towards the monastic orders, the hospitals and the friars by the English and the French kings in the period c. 1130-1270. The question of which orders were favoured by individual kings is an important one, because the reasons for this favour can reveal a great deal about the politics and the characters of individual kings, and its benefits greatly affected the orders themselves. The account is based mainly upon the foundations and refoundations made by these kings together with important donations, safeguards and pensions as additional evidence. Charters and royal administrative records provide the basic material here, but contemporary chronicles, letters, hagiographical literature and poetry are drawn upon widely in its interpretation. Furthermore the

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1. M. Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,  
ed. L. Delisle, 24 vols, Paris, 1869-1904 (= H.Fr.), XX, 11.

monastic houses themselves provide valuable evidence both in their siting and their plan and appearance. The architecture of royal monastic foundations and of other royal buildings is thus given considerable emphasis. These diverse elements, charters, chronicles and buildings, can give wide and varied insights into the patronage relationship, its expectations and manifestations, its problems, and the rewards for both sides. All these questions are given general analysis based on the core of the study, which is a treatment of the degree of favour shown by individual kings to the different orders. The special nature of royal patronage is heightened by general contrast with non-royal patronage and by a statistical analysis of the rate of foundation of houses for the different orders during the period, compared with the pattern of creation of the royal houses. In addition, the development of a special kind of royal monastery, the mausoleum, is traced in some detail, and draws upon examples from Spain, Sicily, Portugal and Scotland, as well as England and France.

The period c.1130-1270 has been selected so as to allow the monastic patronage of Louis VI and Henry I to be used as an introduction to the fuller studies of Stephen, the Empress, Henry II, Richard I and John<sup>1</sup> in England and the continental possessions, and of Louis VII, Philip-Augustus, Louis VIII, Blanche of Castile and Louis IX in France. Both earlier and later material is sometimes used for an illustration, and the patronage of the kings of Scotland is also drawn upon for comparison.<sup>2</sup>

The monastic patronage of the English and French kings is of particular interest and significance during this period, partly because it was the time of greatest monastic expansion. After the eleventh-century

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1 Henry III has had to be omitted because of lack of space.

2 Henry II and Richard I's patronage of the order of Grandmont is discussed in the enclosed offprint from the Journal of Medieval History, 1, 1975, pp.165-86. (= Grandmont).

church reforms this began with an increase in Benedictine and Augustinian houses followed rapidly in the twelfth century by the new ascetic orders, the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, Fontevraldines, Gilbertines and Grandmontines, the military orders, hospitals, and in the thirteenth century, the friars. The role of some kings in the spread of the new order is of considerable importance, and their value as patrons continued into the later middle ages when foundations were much rarer. At the same time, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the English and French crowns underwent dramatic changes and reversals of relative political power stemming from the losses and the gains in the land that they held, while their internal political control was developing and to some extent growing stronger. In these spheres the monastic orders played an important part; religious houses were of great significance as political pawns both in the extension of royal power in France and in the gaining and holding of land in various wars involving the Angevin and Capetian dynasties. This was their period of greatest political significance as well as of greatest religious and spiritual power.

## 2. Sources and Other Studies.

Certain valuable and interesting studies have already treated the relationship between monasteries and their patrons. Susan Wood, for example, in English monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century<sup>1</sup> has discussed patronage as a right and as a property, and the patron's rights--to intercession, to wield certain powers in vacancies, and to exploit his monasteries in some situations. Regalian rights in episcopal elections - and many English sees were monastic - have been discussed by M.E. Howell in Regalian Right in Medieval England.<sup>2</sup> These themes have been discussed

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1 S. Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century, Oxford, 1955.

2 M.E. Howell, Regalian Right in Medieval England, London, 1962.

fully for France by F. Lot and R. Fawtier in the third volume of the Histoire des Institutions Françaises<sup>1</sup> and by P. Thomas in Le Droit de Propriété des Laïques.<sup>2</sup> My study does not cover such problems as these except in general terms, for it concentrates upon royal foundations and largesse and their implications, rather than the development, use and abuse of royal rights over monasteries; this approach was suggested by and grew from Professor C.N.L. Brooke's paper on the monastic patronage of the Anglo-Norman kings.<sup>3</sup>

The histories, natures and developments of the orders have not been discussed here - some valuable works which cover different aspects of these are D. Knowles' The Monastic Order in England, 940 - 1216 and The Religious Orders in England,<sup>4</sup> C.N.L. Brooke's The Monastic World, and R.W. Southern's Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Detailed histories of certain orders, political histories of the different reigns and architectural studies are also of considerable importance and are discussed in context. Many important houses such as St.-Denis, Westminster and Fontevrault, have a wealth of secondary documentation; for many small monastic houses, and in particular lesser priories, there is very little evidence of any kind. The problems arising from this are remedied to a considerable extent by D. Knowles

- 1 F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age, (= HIFr), vol. III, by J.F. Lemarignier, J. Gaudement and G. Mollat, Paris, 1962.
- 2 P. Thomas, Le Droit de Propriété des Laïques, Paris, 1906.
- 3 C.N.L. Brooke, 'Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries! Normandy and England', Il Monachesimo e la Riforma Ecclesiastica, La Mendola, 1968, Milan, 1971, pp.125-44, (= Brooke).
- 4 M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963, (= Mon.Ord); The Religious Orders in England, Cambridge, 1948-59, (= Rel.Ord.).
- 5 C.N.L. Brooke, The Monastic World, London, 1974 (= Mon.World); R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages, London, 1970. (= Southern).



and R.N. Hadcock's Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales,<sup>1</sup> which taken in conjunction with the Victoria County Histories and Pevsner's Buildings of England<sup>2</sup> forms a solid basis for study. For French houses, however, since only one volume of the Gallia Monastica has so far appeared there is no comparable list. Cottineau's Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés, the Gallia Christiana and Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancienne France<sup>3</sup> have to be used with great caution and in conjunction with many other printed and unprinted documents. This, together with a greater survival of administrative records for England, is the reason why in some cases the foundations of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings can be treated in more detail than those of the French royal house, and why the statistics drawn up for the English royal houses are both more detailed and more precise.

Two basic sources for the study are royal charters and royal administrative records. Apart from the 1129-30 roll, the English pipe rolls survive in continuous sequence from 2 Henry II, complemented later by the charter and the patent rolls. Many of these have been printed,<sup>4</sup> and they

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- 1 M.D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, 2nd edn. London, 1971, (=KH).
  - 2 The Victoria Histories of the Counties of England, ed. H.A. Doubleday, W. Page, L.F. Salzman, R.B. Pugh, London, 1900 (= VCH); ed. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England, London, 1951-75, (= Pevsner).
  - 3 L.H. Cottineau and G. Potas, Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés, Mâcon, 1935-70 (= Cottineau); D. Sainte-Marthe and P. Piolin, Gallia Christiana in Provinciis Ecclesiasticas Distributa, Paris, 1739-70, 1870-7 (= Gallia); Dom Beaunier, J.M. Besse and J. Beyssac, Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancienne France, Archives de la France Monastique, vols. 1, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 36, 39, Paris 1913-41 (= BB); ed. J.F. Lemarignier, Gallia Monastica, I, Paris, 1974.
  - 4 Pipe Roll Society, Publications, London, 1884- ; Pipe Rolls (= PR) and other documents for 31 Henry I, 2-34 Henry II, 1-10 Richard I, 1-18 John, 2, 14 and 26 Henry III; Public Record Office, Calendar of Charter Rolls, I-II (1226-1300), London, 1903-6 (= Cal Ch R); Calendar of Patent Rolls, I-IV, (1216-1272), London, 1901-13 (= Cal.Pat.R.); Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, London, 1802 (= CRP); Rotuli Litterarum Clausarium, 1, London, 1833, (= RLC1); Calendar of Close Rolls, 1-14 (1227-72), London, 1902-38, (= CalClR).

form an excellent basis for the study of pensions, lands and other expenses granted by kings to monasteries. Fragments of considerable value also survive for Normandy.<sup>1</sup> The vast bulk of the French administrative documents for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have, however, been lost. One very valuable financial account for 1202-3 has been published by F. Lot and R. Fawtier and others in Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens, vol XXI.<sup>2</sup> More detailed conclusions may thus be drawn from these sources for the English royal houses than for the French. Charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries often owe their survival largely to chance. Many are preserved in the original, or in cartularies, in royal enrollments and in older printed sources such as the Gallia Christiana and Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum.<sup>3</sup> Some transcripts of unprinted documents are included below in Appendix III. Printed collections of royal charters have proved of great value in the analysis of patronage relationships. For the English royal house these include the Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154<sup>4</sup> and the Recueil des Actes de Henri II, supplemented with original charters.<sup>5</sup> For France a more complete series exists - the acts of Louis VI<sup>6</sup> and Louis VII,<sup>7</sup>

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1. Magni Rotuli Scaccariae Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae, ed. T. Stapleton, London, 1854, (= Stapleton).
  2. H.Fr.XXI; F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Le Premier Budget de la Monarchie Francaise, Bibl.Ec.Hautes-Etudes, vol 259, Paris, 1939, (= Budget).
  3. Gallia; Sir William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. R. Dodsworth, 3 vols, London, 1655-73; ed. J. Caley, H.Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8, London, 1817-30, (= Dugdale).
  4. Regesta-Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, ed.H.W.C.Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne, R.H.C. Davis, 4 vols, Oxford, 1913-69, (= Reg.R)
  5. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Introduction and vols. I-III, Paris, 1909-1927, (= H.II).
  6. A. Luchaire, Louis VI le Gros, Annales de sa Vie et son Règne, 1081-1137, Paris, 1890, (= L.VI).
  7. A.Luchaire, Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII, Paris, 1885, (= L.VII).

Philip-Augustus<sup>1</sup> and Louis VIII<sup>2</sup> have all been collected; Louis IX's charters unfortunately lack an editor. Many other collections of documents and unprinted sources have been used to supplement these for Richard I, John, and Louis IX. Background material in the form of chronicles, poems and other accounts has been drawn upon in particular from Bouquet's Recueil,<sup>3</sup> from the Rolls Series and from Nelsons Medieval Texts, more recently the Oxford Medieval Texts.<sup>4</sup> The architectural evidence has been derived principally from a study of many of the buildings themselves, with the assistance of the Bulletin Monumental, the Congrès Archéologique, Pevsner's Buildings of England,<sup>5</sup> and of more general background books, in particular the Pelican History of Art.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. Kings as founders, patrons, advocates and benefactors of monasteries.

Before the eleventh century Church reforms, kings and nobles had regarded churches and monasteries as private property, built by them on their own lands and over which they retained substantial rights. As was the case with a secular benefice, a church was administered by its lord when vacant and regranted to whomsoever he pleased. The attempts of the

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1 L. Delisle, Catalogue des Acts de Philippe-Auguste, Paris, 1856, (= P-A); H.F. Delaborde, C. Petit-Dutaillis, J. Monicat, J. Boussard, Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste, Paris, 1916-66 (up to 1216; = Rec.).

2 C. Petit-Dutaillis, Etude sur la Vie et la Règne de Louis VIII, Paris, 1894 (= L.VIII).

3 H.Fr.

4 Rolls Series, London, 1858-96; Nelson's Medieval Texts, since Oxford Medieval Texts, Edinburgh and London.

5 Pevsner; Société Française d'Archéologie, Bulletin Monumental and Congrès Archéologique, Paris, 1834-.

6 The Pelican History of Art, ed. Sir N. Pevsner, London, 1953- .

reformers to differentiate the spiritual and temporal spheres led to these rights being strongly contested, and new orders such as the Cistercians rejected them altogether. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, patrons and advocates, royal, noble and ecclesiastical, still exercised residual powers over churches and monasteries of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders, and over nunneries, which had developed from and was still in some sense connected with the idea of a church as a feudal benefice. Thus in one sense the patron was the heir of the founder, the feudal lord, who would administer his family monastery during vacancies and would choose the new abbot. If he was the king the monks would find it more difficult to resist these powers. As patron and founder of a Cistercian abbey or a house of another reformed order he would possess less official power, for he would have granted its lands to it in frankalmoign, free tenure. He would, however, exercise considerable influence, and he would certainly benefit from the prayers of the monks who were seen as owing a special debt to the family of their founder, whatever their order. Thus Henry II removed and then replaced the foundation stone at Cistercian Varennes: 'quod voluit esse monasterii fundator et custos',<sup>1</sup> and he also became the founder and patron of the hospital at Angers and of certain Grandmontine priories, at minimal cost.<sup>2</sup> In England, however, only a major benefaction amounting to refoundation, as at Waltham, or the reversion of a house into royal hands as at Buckland, appears to have been sufficient to transfer the ultimate spiritual rights of founder and patron to a King.<sup>3</sup> Thus Bernard of St.-Valéry kept the spiritualities of Godstow nunnery for himself, while handing over the temporalities of patronage to Henry II.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Gallia, II, 211.

2 Grandmont, passim; HII, II, 206-8, nos. dciv-v.

3 VCH, Somt, II, 148; below, pp. 114-8, 132-3.

4 Wood, pp. 12-13.

Thus to be regarded as founder/patron, a king had either created the house himself, or had inherited the right from his predecessors, or otherwise had refounded it by rebuilding it and giving it extensive grants of lands, or had in some way, at times highly mysterious, managed to transfer the rights to himself. This relationship and its genesis is our chief concern.

Another group of monasteries, however, could be regarded as royal houses, because the king had acted as defender and guardian and had taken over certain rights over the house from the patron's family without becoming the founder. This made him the advocate in the continental sense, that is to say the avoué, a chosen official, not necessarily of the founder's family or even the lord of the lands on which the house stood, who was paid for protecting the house with lands, judicial rights and privileges. The office would be held as a hereditary right, and the powers of its holder would be considerable. This relationship was rare in England where founders were usually both patron and advocate.<sup>1</sup> In France the crown was often called in as lay-advocate to protect the interests of a house whose patron had become unable to defend it, or who had himself acted as oppressor. The lack of centralised control outside the Ile de France facilitated this process, and it was one important way in which the French crown succeeded in extending its ecclesiastical domain into more outlying parts of France.

Kings naturally fitted into the role of patron and founder or advocate as one of several different groups of people holding these positions. Nobles, curial servants, ecclesiastics, and burgesses were also patrons of religious houses. Yet when the patron of a house was royal, the rights he exercised and the benefits he might grant could differ

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1 Wood, pp.16-17; F.Senn, L'Institution des Avoueries Ecclésiastiques en France, Paris, 1903.

in some ways from those of other patrons. Because of their powerful positions, kings could often uphold their rights of custodianship during vacancies and of giving licence and assent to elections, with some force, and its exercise in the case of both secular and monastic bishoprics in England became exclusive only to kings by the twelfth century, and part of regalian right.<sup>1</sup> During the twelfth century, however, many ancient and privileged Benedictine abbeys, such as St.-Albans, became exempt from these royal controls, and by 1216, seven had managed to achieve this prestigious status.<sup>2</sup> In France, not all bishoprics and abbeys were under royal patronage, and other patrons exercised these powers with greater freedom than in England. But with the extension of the ecclesiastical domain regalian rights were gradually spread over a wider area.<sup>3</sup> Much of this extension was achieved because of the inherent powers of kingship, its special sanctity since the king was seen as Christ's anointed, and its place as feudal overlord and as ultimate arbiter of justice. Thus although the French crown was in terms of land and military strength less powerful than many of its own feudatories, its holder's position as king gave him importance and influence of a different nature, which emerged in the extension of the patronage network. The English kings also used their powers to pre-empt other patrons; the Empress Matilda and Henry II were particularly adept at this.<sup>4</sup>

In the thirteenth century the king was thus the most powerful and important patron both in France and in England. Dr. S. Wood, for

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1 Howell, p.1.

2 Mon.Ord. pp.590-1.

3 R. Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France, trans.L. Butler, R.J. Adam, Glasgow, 1960, (= Fawtier), pp.67-75; HI Fr., III, 145-59.

4 below, chapters II - III.

example, shows that out of the 425 English houses whose patrons are known the king controlled 106.<sup>1</sup> Not only could the king use his special powers in the exercise and the extension of patronage, but because of his position he could also give benefits on a wide scale. In making donations and in granting pensions he could draw on wide royal resources and he could use the royal administrative machinery to implement these gifts. The sheriffs, baillis and prévôts could pay out pensions to monastic houses or make special gifts to them at the king's order through local financial and administrative machinery. The royal chanceries could issue writs and charters to confirm royal gifts and the donations of others and safeguards and confirmations of all goods and rights. Gifts and protection could be given both to royal and to non-royal houses. Nobles and other patrons could also, and did, grant lands and protection and pensions by charter. The king, however, had both a more widespread and complex administrative machinery to implement his gifts, and powers as feudal and judicial overlord which gave his confirmations and protections greater significance, and which made them frequently sought after and often handsomely paid for. The network of this kind of patronage was very wide, and extended far beyond his own lands, for royal patronage in the sense of largesse and safeguards was given on a far more widespread scale than the extent of royal monasteries and royal lands alone. It can reveal a great deal about the interests of kings in the monastic orders, as will be shown.

Royal power, influence and resources could benefit a house or an order very greatly. Kings as founders and patrons could in certain cases affect and improve the fortunes of a particular order by their

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1 Wood, p.106.

influence and by their generosity. Although this could cause departure from the original ideals of poverty and asceticism, and divisions within orders, it is clear that royal patronage was both highly valued and consciously sought after by the religious orders.

4. Benefits gained by kings from monastic patronage.

A monastery could be a temporal symbol of the power, status, and influence of its founder, it could be a centre of learning or of agricultural production, or a pawn in a complex political game, but its *raison d'être* was in the saying of prayers, intercession for society as a whole. Its founders and benefactors naturally expected some spiritual benefits for their temporal outlay; the prayers of a religious house appear, by the thirteenth century, to have been regarded almost in the same light as a feudal service, rendered to the patron and founder and his family in return for his generosity.<sup>1</sup> Often the family of the founder retained this intercessory service after the advocacy had passed to another lord. Thus Bernard of St.-Valéry kept the prayers of Godstow for himself after the secular patronage had been passed to Henry II.<sup>2</sup> It would need a major refoundation such as Westminster by Henry III, or a less determined patron to make opposition by a king to the rights and powers of a founder successful. Kings were often anxious to take over the rights of founders because some valued intercession very highly. Louis IX and Henry III gave frequent signs of this, and Henry II showed courage in a storm at sea because he thought that the Grandmontines were praying for him, according to a later account. This is matched with the value he placed upon the prayers of Saint Gilbert.<sup>3</sup> Bonport was founded by Richard I

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1 Wood, pp.12-13.

2 Dugdale, IV, 364.

3 Grandmont, p.165; below pp. 111-4.



after a vow he had made when in peril of his life,<sup>1</sup> and this is another indication of the power attributed to prayer by many kings. As founders of monasteries they would reap the direct <sup>s</sup>apiritual benefits of intercession, and they often arranged to be buried in their own houses as a direct focus of prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Kings like other patrons could also become part of the spiritual familia of a monastery. Louis VII, for example, became a confrater of Canterbury in 1179<sup>3</sup> and thus benefitted from its prayers. Orders as a whole and individual houses could set aside days of intercession for the soul of a king, an anniversary, and say an obit, a mass for his soul. Most of the French royal house was remembered at St.-Denis<sup>4</sup> and new anniversaries were added frequently. In 1162, Louis VII set aside a pension for celebrations for the soul of Queen Constance.<sup>5</sup> Royal anniversaries were the first to be celebrated by the Cistercians, who rejected the institution as a whole until the late twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> The Gilbertines and Grandmontines seem to have regarded kings as the only lay patrons who should be honoured by special prayers.<sup>7</sup>

One reason for this kind of special honour is suggested by the Regularis Concordia, echoed later in the Gilbertine rite, which sets out a mass for the king as the leader of

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1 below, pp.135-8.

2 below, Chapter VI.

3 This topic is fully discussed in chapter VI, section 5.

4 A. Longnon and A. Molinier, Obituaires de la Province de Sens, 4 vols, Paris, 1902-23, (= Obit.Sens), I, (I), 305-42.

5 J. Tardif, Monuments Historiques, Cartons des Rois, Paris, 1866, (= Tardif), no.576, p.296.

6 below, pp.192, 305.

7 Dugdale, VI (2), lviii.

his people:

'quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut famulus tuus rex noster,  
qui tua miseratione regni suscepit gubernacula, virtutum  
et omnium percipiat incrementa ..! 1

For a medieval king had a special importance which outlived the ecclesiastical reform movement, which was connected with his function as vicarius christi; before the reforms, this gave him an almost priestly power, but by the twelfth century, as John of Salisbury, for example, shows in the Policraticus, he had become a minister or servant of the church, a guardian supported by the Church to redress its wrongs.<sup>2</sup> Thus the monastic orders had a special interest in intercession for the king, for through this they were in their turn praying for society - the analogy of the king as the Caput of the state, again made by John of Salisbury, is a telling illustration of this idea.<sup>3</sup> It is linked with a primitive belief in the talismanic, magical value of royal power, as the symbol of cohesion of the people, as well with as the idea of the spiritual powers of princes. These notions are totally divorced from the personality of the king, and arise more from the aura of the office itself. It is clear that they underlie the patronage relationship in a very real way.

A royal monastery built on a large scale could also be the symbol of the power and the wealth of a king. Henry II favoured the Gilbertines, Carthusians, Grandmontines, but rebuilt Augustinian Waltham on a massive scale; Edward I favoured the Carmelites but planned the largest monastery in England for the Cistercians at Vale Royal, while Louis IX, who founded many small hospitals and friaries, built Cistercian Royaumont in magnificent style. Henry III shared his interests but completely remodelled

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1 ed. T. Symonds, The Regularis Concordia, N.M.T., 1953, p. 13; and ed. R.M. Woolley, The Gilbertine Rite, London, 1921-2, II, 73-4.

2 Ioannis Sarisberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici,... ed. C.C.J. Webb, Oxford, 1909, (= Webb), I, 239-44; cf. Brooke, pp. 125-6.

3 Webb, I, 298-307.

Benedictine Westminster as a symbol of the royal power and authority he did not possess. These are not always necessarily a sign of a particular interest of the king in the order involved, but are often connected with his political status. In particular a building concomitant with royal state had to be used or created as a royal burial-house, as was shown in the complaints of Henry II's barons that he was going against the dignity of his kingdom by choosing Grandmont as his last resting-place.<sup>1</sup>

As well as prayers and status, a king could derive other more directly temporal benefits from a royal monastery. The royal right of custody during a vacancy could be of some considerable value in financial terms. The king could dispose of benefices and fiefs falling vacant during his period of control, he could draw feudal profits, reliefs and wardships from the lesser tenants, and could gather in the profits of the vacant living. Henry II took custody of Glastonbury - which had failed to gain exemption - in 1185, and the pipe rolls for the next few years show that he used much of the resources for his own purposes.<sup>2</sup> The custom was constantly being fought, but where they could, the English and French kings prolonged vacancies and extorted taxes on vacant benefices.<sup>3</sup> The reformed orders were exempt from this process.<sup>4</sup> The king would also expect to levy military service or scutage on ancient Benedictine houses - in England and servitia debita were clearly fixed and defaulting monasteries were often brought to book. Houses such as Bury St.-Edmunds often appear on the pipe rolls with a backlog. The new orders which rejected this kind of

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1 Grandmont, p.168.

2 below, pp. 101-2.

3 Howell, p.1; Wood, pp.40-100.

4 Wood, p.84.

service sometimes came to accept land with it attached. William I of Scotland, for example, gave his Tironnais foundation of Arbroath the custody of the relics of Saint Columba (1211), on condition that the monks provided the service in the army owed from that land.<sup>1</sup> Linked with these ancient rights over certain monasteries was the expectation that all the abbots would give the king counsel and service in temporal affairs, and that the king would 'elect' the abbot. This was rejected by the new orders and strongly contested by the others in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even where free election, however, was allowed, a royal servant was often selected in practice to please the king. An instance of this is recorded by Matthew Paris. In 1246, the monks of Westminster elected Richard de Crokesley, a friend of the King, for fear that Henry III would abandon their half-built church:

'Magister Ricardus de Crokesle, archidiaconus Westmonasterii, vir elegans et jurisperitus et domino regi amicissimus, a toto conventu est electus. Timebant enim monachi, ne si secus fieret, dominus rex eorum patronus specialis ecclesiam suam iam semirutans relinqueret imperfectam, quam gloriose coeperat edificare'. 2

The monastic orders could furthermore act as sources of personnel for government and administration - as Henry II used the Templars and Louis IX the friars - and an abbacy as a good reward for a royal servant.<sup>3</sup> The extra fees and benefices coming into the king's hands during a vacancy would prove a valuable source of patronage for royal servants. Monasteries offered resting-places on journeys, and were of considerable importance

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1 Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153-1424, ed. G.W.S. Barrow and W.W.Scott, I (Malcolm IV); II (William I), Edinburgh, 1960-71, (= Reg.R.Sc.), II, 453-4, no.499.

2 Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, ed. H.R. Luard, RS no.57, London, 1864-9, (= Paris), IV, 589; Wood, p.67.

3 Wood, pp.90-2.

to the Crown as a source of hospitality; although they were rather less valuable to the English king than to the German, who relied on monastic hospitality as a substantial part of his recognised income.<sup>1</sup> John exempted Margam from his mulcting in 1210 because he often stayed there.<sup>2</sup> A special room was built for Edward I at Dunstable for the same reason.<sup>3</sup> Although when a king stayed at a house for a long period of time he might make generous gifts, as with Louis IX and Royaumont, a prolonged visit might prove expensive for the religious. Henry III remained at Osney for more than a week in 1266.<sup>4</sup> Grosseteste complained of him:

'Dominus rex frequenter circumiens per domos religiosas,  
hospitatur in eis earum sumptibus, eas quamplurimum  
gravando.'<sup>5</sup>

Monasteries might also be suitable for placing royal relatives, and royal servants into corrodies. In 1249, for example, Muchelney was asked to keep Ralph de Hele by Henry III;<sup>6</sup> there was stronger resistance to his attempts to give homes to converted Jews in royal abbeys. Kings however, frequently stabled or grazed their horses on the lands of the religious orders.<sup>7</sup>

Royal control over abbeys could also be of political importance. Before the loss of Normandy in 1204, John's position in the Duchy had been considerably undermined by Philip-Augustus' intervention there, giving important gifts and privileges to monasteries, churches and communes. In Castile in the twelfth century, any support of the Cistercians was seen as a local protest against the powers of the French Cluniac bishops,

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1 C. Brühl, Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis, Köln, 1968, pp.173-83.

2 Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, RS no.36, London, 1864-9,  
(= Ann.Mon.) I, 30.

3 Ann.Mon. III, 276.

4 Wood, p.106.

5 Ann.Mon. I, 424.

6 Cal.Cl.R. 1247-51, p.546.

7 Wood, pp.106, 110-111.

while in England, the disputes of Stephen and the Cistercians over the York election and the affiliation of the Savigniac houses were partly political in nature.<sup>1</sup> Monastic houses possessed power, wealth and influence in certain cases. Much of the spread of the influence of the French crown was achieved through its contacts with abbeys. Louis VII forced certain fractious nobles of the Limousin to repair Solignac, for example, and he protected the abbey of Corbie against the commune in 1151-2.<sup>2</sup> Particularly in France royal abbeys were also founded in centres of royal power as an enhancement of royal dignity.<sup>3</sup> Thus in political as well as in spiritual terms, kings might expect to make some gains from the foundation and patronage of monasteries.

#### 5. Monastic gains from royal patronage: general.

The monastic orders and individual houses often showed a great interest in gaining the king as patron, for they could benefit greatly from the process. The fortunes of the order of Grandmont, for example, improved greatly through the support of Henry II and Louis VII,<sup>4</sup> and the Benedictines and Augustinians in England gained in numbers to a considerable extent with their promotion there by William I and Henry I.<sup>5</sup> As well as having a position of power, the king was valuable as a protector, both in the physical and judicial sense. Thus for example in 1113 Louis VI granted St.-Sulpice at Bourges freedom for its land of Givaudais from all the

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1 below, Chapter II, section 2.

2 M. Pacaut, Louis VII et son Royaume, Paris, 1964 (= Pacaut), p.84.

3 below, pp. 342-62.

4 Grandmont; below, pp. 186-8.

5 below, Chapter VII.

custom imposed on it by local nobles. This increased his influence but also benefitted the house itself.<sup>1</sup> As protector a king might also take a house into custody at times of internal disorder, war or debt.<sup>2</sup>

Interventions into the internal discipline of the monastery might accompany this. In 1207-8, for example, the prior of Montacute was deposed at the orders of John.<sup>3</sup> A king might also resist papal attempts to tax the houses.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the greatest value of a royal patron was in the gifts he could grant. He might pay for the building or rebuilding of a church, as Henry III at Westminster, Henry II with parts of Fontevrault, and Louis IX with the friars in Paris. This would almost certainly be the case with a bona fide royal foundation, as with Louis IX and Royaumont, or Henry I at Reading - even if sometimes funds were not sufficient as with Henry II at Witham and Edward I at Vale Royal.<sup>5</sup> Valuable gifts of relics, chalices and bibles might also be made. Henry III was generous in this way to St.-Albans, and Louis IX distributed spines from the Crown of Thorns to many mendicant houses. The Empress Matilda gave the hand of Saint James to Reading.<sup>6</sup> Even more valuable, however, were gifts of land, judicial privileges, pensions, rights such as fairs and tolls, and confirmations of the property of a monastery, which were normally made by charter.

1 L.VI, no.170, p.86.

2 Wood, pp.145-6.

3 Wood, p.147.

4 Wood, p.153.

5 below, pp. 106-9, 374.

6 below, p. 79.

## 6. Charters of donation - their diplomatic and content.

The grants of these different kinds made by charter could vary in value very considerably. All were highly prized, and confirmations were often brought at a high price. Many compilers of monastic cartularies when arranging the deeds of their houses according to donors placed royal charters before papal bulls. Thus a thirteenth-century Waltham cartulary and an early roll group them before those of all other donors.<sup>1</sup> This differentiation may be partly explained by the fact that under normal conditions royal charters tended to be seen as legally more important for temporal possessions, and papal bulls for churches and tithes.<sup>2</sup>

A very considerable proportion of royal charters went to the monastic orders. They are in essence royal instructions making or confirming gifts, upholding justice or issuing specific instructions. In France the basic pattern, derived from the Carolingian diploma, continued to be used in a modified form during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in England, by contrast, this was rare and the writ or breve, the Anglo-Saxon form, was taken up and developed by the administration. These documents retained their basic patterns but their use was widened, and certain changes were made. Charters of both administrations became clearer, simpler, more direct and more formulaic during the twelfth century, but whereas Henry II's charters reached a maturity and uniformity of style by the 1170s and 1180s, a similar stage was not arrived at in France until after 1200. The most rapid modification took place in the early years of Philip-Augustus, perhaps under English influence. By the 1220s both the French and English charter forms had reached full development through further modifications, as is

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1 BL MS Harl. 391, ff.33-54; PRO C 47 12/5.

2 The end of the reign of Stephen provides a contrast; charters of confirmation from Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, were in great demand; A. Saltman, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, London, 1956, passim.



illustrated by some examples in Appendix III.<sup>1</sup> Both administrations used the formal cartae for gifts in perpetuity, with a briefer form for injunctions and orders, latter patent. Letters close consisted of private orders and correspondence.<sup>2</sup>

The developments of the different forms of these charters is best seen in their opening and final clauses. In their opening protocol the French charters, unlike the English ones, have an invocation. Until the twelfth century this had consisted of a symbolic representation of the idea, a cross or monogramme, but was fixed in this verbal form probably in the reign of Louis VII. The superscription clauses consist of the name of the king, his title, and the devotional formula Dei gratia. The charters of Henry II contain this devotional formula only when they were issued after 1172-3<sup>3</sup> - those issued prior to this date follow the pattern of the house of Anjou and omit it. They read H rex Anglorum etc.<sup>4</sup> After the late twelfth century the English king is described as Rex Anglie etc.<sup>5</sup> The inscription, or list of those to whom the document is addressed, is not generally included in the French charters, although it is sometimes found as omnibus in perpetuum. The list of dignitaries found in the English charters followed a set pattern and was followed by salutem, also missing from most French charters. In their final clauses twelfth-century French charters again contain an authentication clause, relating to the public sealing and its location. This is followed by the regnal year and the year of incarnation,

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1 eg. Appendix III, nos. 8,9,10,12,13,16.

2 See A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, Paris, 1894; H.II, Intro; P.Chaplais, English Royal Documents, 1199-1461, Oxford, 1961; S.B. Chrimes, An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England, Oxford, 1959.

3 App. III, no.2.

4 App.III, no.1.

5. App.III, nos. 4, 7.

a list of witnesses, and the authentication of the cancellarius. This position was normally vacant after the mid-twelfth century. The English charters, however, have a brief witness list in hierarchical order and a place-date. It was in this part of the charter that the greatest development occurred later; Richard and John's charters normally include the teste me ipso formula, the year of incarnation and/or the regnal year. The king also began to appear in the plural.<sup>1</sup> Thus the charters developed towards standardisation yet retained definite 'Anglo-Angevin' or 'French' features.

The main body of the charters contains the dispositive and the injunctive clauses, the grant or order and its enforcement. Louis VII's and Stephen's charters vary very considerably in style and formulae, but Henry II's chancery developed standardised and formulaic grants in the second part of his reign. The dispositive and injunctive clauses are clearly differentiated, and the smooth pairing of words in the injunctive clauses give a tone of solemnity yet is easily understandable. The charters of Philip-Augustus show a far greater clarity of language and a more succinct style than those of Louis VII, although these grants did not reach a stage comparable with the later grants of Henry II until after 1200. It is possible that this improvement may have come about partly through English influence.<sup>2</sup>

Charters given to the monastic orders included protections, concords and grants of money freed from the Exchequer. The dispositive clauses are in such cases straightforward to interpret. Less clear are grants and confirmations of grants. Such phrases as sciatis me dedisse, concessisse et ... confirmasse, for example, are used by Henry II both for making new

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1 App.III, nos. 4 and 7 in which Richard and John appear in the plural; nos. 5 and 6, Grandmont, pp.182-5.

2 App.III, nos.9-10, 12-13, cf. nos.1-2.

grants and for confirming those of others.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is normally possible to differentiate between a confirmation and a gift. A royal confirmation charter usually refers to the donor and/or to a previous charter. This is particularly true when the earlier granter was one of the king's ancestors; with lesser donors, however, the crown was sometimes less scrupulous and claimed gifts and foundations it had not made, or where it had given only some degree of help, as with Henry II and the order of Grandmont.<sup>2</sup> By a careful comparison of these charters of 'donation' and with other charters of the houses involved, royal financial records and any other available sources, it is often possible to detect such amplifications of royal generosity; they can, indeed, be revealing about the attitudes towards the monastic orders of the kings who used them. They seem, however, to become rarer in the thirteenth century, perhaps because, like forgeries, they became more readily detectable with the increasing amount of documentary evidence kept by the royal household and by other donors and the recipients.

How important were the monastic orders as recipients of charters? Who were the other recipients? Table I, 1 attempts to answer these questions by taking a sample from the charter rolls of Henry III, which contain the majority of royal concessions, confirmations and grants of privileges.<sup>3</sup> Three separate years at ten year intervals have been selected, when political and social troubles are unlikely to cause any distortions. The proportions of charters going to different groups of recipients have been calculated, and the averages taken.

From the whole of the sample, an average of 61% of charters went to secular sources, with the nobility taking more than half of all charters given, an average of 51%. These were charters confirming possessions and privileges. Towns and shires also received an increasing number of

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1 H II, Intro. p.154.

2 eg. Grandmont, *passim*.

3 Taken from Cal.Ch.R., I (1226-57).

confirmations, and the 9% which went to these in 1245 reflects the growing interest of Henry III in the development of the boroughs - a penchant he shared with the French kings. On the ecclesiastical side, the majority of the charters went to the monastic orders, which on average, in fact received between one-quarter and one-third of the total. The percentage is much higher for 1235 which suggests that more houses felt it necessary to obtain their standard confirmations during the earlier part of the reign. The resources of the king were also more flexible at this time and he could afford more financial and judicial privileges.

The table thus shows the importance of the nobility, followed by monasteries, as recipients of royal charters. An interesting contrast to this emerges in Scotland during the reign of Malcolm IV (1153-65).<sup>1</sup> The Regesta made of his surviving acts has been analysed in a similar manner to the charter rolls of Henry III, but the overwhelming preponderance of them, more than 90%, went to monasteries. This is to some extent because of the very great political and social importance of the monasteries in twelfth-century Scotland, but it is mainly due to the greater survival rate for ecclesiastical documents in this period than for noble ones; they come from cartularies rather than chancery rolls. The ecclesiastical level of literacy outstripped that of the nobility, and large numbers of royal acts have been preserved by their monastic recipients. Thus in collections of charters of Henry II and Louis VII a very great number - although perhaps not so great a proportion as in Scotland - appear to go to the monastic houses. Royal records for the thirteenth century remedy the imbalance to some extent. Even if, however, all royal charters for one twelfth-century reign did survive, it still might be found that the proportion going to monasteries was somewhat larger than in the thirteenth century, because of a political and social significance lost to some extent by the religious orders after the end of their greatest age of expansion.

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1 Reg.R.Sc.I.

7. The nature of the grants made by charter.

The evidence concerning royal grants to the monastic orders may be gained from charters in monastic cartularies and later in royal documents, from surviving original charters, and from references to money allowed for lands and pensions from royal financial records, the pipe rolls in England, and royal accounts for France. This information may be used to ascertain the varying nature of the relationship between the king and individual houses and the different orders. For the purpose of this study three levels of relationship between royal patrons and monasteries have been defined. These will be outlined and illustrated with reference mainly to the charters of Henry II in his Angevin lands.

The lowest level in this relationship is used to describe the houses in Group III in my pattern for the general analysis of grants explained below. These houses were given charters by kings confirming their foundation and the gifts made by other benefactors, and safeguarding and protecting their ~~lands~~ and rights. Such charters naturally were granted also to houses which also received more important gifts, for they formed the greater bulk of all grants to the monastic orders. Houses in Group III have received these only. Their diplomatic became standard in both France and England, for they were issued as normal practice by the chanceries in response to requests from the houses involved. Some payment to the royal exchequer appears to have formed part of the procedure. A general confirmation given by John to Cirencester in 1199, for example, cost this house £100.<sup>1</sup> The 1218 pipe roll describes some debts outstanding for this kind of charter for the later years of John:

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<sup>1</sup> C.D. Ross, The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, London, 1964, (= Ross), I, 30, no.33.

'Abbas de Forneis debet x palefridos pro habenda confirmatione R.J. de terra de Bordhal' quam habet de dono Alicie de Rumeilli. Prior de Kertmell debet i palefridum pro emenda carta sua de libertatibus suis'. 1

These charters benefitted the monasteries to a great extent in giving them an indisputable legal title to their lands. In some circumstances they also proved vital in political value, as in the extension of royal influence in France. In general, however, they had by the thirteenth century become a standard formality sought by monasteries at the beginning of each new reign - and also a source of profit for the chancery.

A general confirmation was normally the affirmation of the legitimacy of the possessions of an abbey. Henry II issued one to Nôtre-Dame at Saïntes in 1174 -

'Mando vobis et precipio ut omnes res et possessiones ad abbatiam Sancte Marie de Xanctonis pertinentes in pace et libere et quiete esse permittatis, sicut carte quas inde habent testantur, nec aliquis in possessionibus earum ... vi et terrore ulterius exigit ... Precipio insuper vobis quatinus contra omnes qui possessiones earum inquietaverint eas manuteneatis et defendatis sicut res meas proprias ... 2

Some of these general confirmations described the possessions of an abbey in full, as with Henry's confirmations to Beaubec (1172 and 1172-5), and others would confirm the smaller donation of individuals, as with the gifts of the king's brother to the same abbey (c.1172-5).<sup>3</sup> There were also confirmations of concords, such as the one reached in 1180 after a dispute between the bishop of Ely and the Templars. A safeguard would give protection to a house, as with one given by Henry II to La Madeleine at Rouen in 1171-82:

'Sciatis quod suscepi in manu mea et custodia et protectione hospitale Sancte Marie Magdalene de Rothomago et omnes res et possessiones eius ...' 4

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1 PR 2 Henry III, p.18.

2 H II, II, 14-15, no.cccclxv.

3 H II, I, 462-3, no.cccxiv; II, 28-9, no.ccclxxvii; II, 30-1, no.ccclxxix.

4 H II, II, 147, no.dlxviii.

Thus by these general confirmatory grants kings were exercising both the judicial and the military functions of their obligations as general patron of monks by virtue of their ecclesiastical connections. They were at the same time extending and consolidating their sphere of influence over the church, and making some financial gains in the process.

Another level in the relationship between kings and religious houses was where the king allowed judicial or fiscal privileges. Henry II, for example, gave the abbey of Aunai freedom from tolls in c.1175,<sup>1</sup> and a fair to the leper-house of Le-Mont-aux-Malades in 1172-8.<sup>2</sup> These fiscal and financial privileges might be of considerable value to the abbey involved, while costing the crown relatively little. Likewise with judicial privileges. In 1175-88 Henry II gave various of these to Norwich Cathedral priory.<sup>3</sup> Often these grants freed abbeys from attending all courts save royal ones, and such concessions are clearly linked with the idea of the royal patron as a dispenser of justice. Houses in Group II also include those given smaller grants of property or a pension, and those from the English pipe rolls allowed less than £5 a year.

Group I contains houses founded by kings, as with Louix IX's Royaumont, or major refoundations, such as Henry II's Waltham. It is these houses which are examined in detail in later chapters. It also includes houses given important donations, as Fontevrault with Henry II, and major pensions, as Cirencester by Henry II and his successors. A charter for making a foundation was, for example, given by Henry II to the Hôtel-Dieu at Angers, and an almost identical one to the hospital at Le Mans, a twin house (1180-2). The foundation-charter to Angers was issued to the

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1 H.II, II, 147, no.cccxcvi.

2 H.II, II, 87-8, no.dxxiv.

3 The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory, ed. B. Dodwell, I, London, 1974, no.26, p.17.

place:

'in quo fundata est domus Dei apud Andegavim, iuxta fontem Sancti Laurentii, quam scilicet domum ego in honore Dei ad hospitalitatem egenorum et ad eorum inopiam relevandam de propriis elemosinis fundavi'. 1

In 1178 Henry gave the abbey of Le Bec a charter allowing £100 p.a. from the viconté of Rouen on the day of the dedication of the church<sup>2</sup> - and this is seen to be paid out on the Norman pipe roll. An example of a charter making a gift is that of 1172-82 presenting the abbey of Marmoutiers with the manor of Thornton and the Church of Cosham.<sup>3</sup> Gifts of this sort could be of considerable material value to the monastery, although it should be stressed that many ascetic orders adopted poverty consciously and were restricted in their property. Thus to some a small grant might assume considerable value - as, for example, with Grandmont. To others such as the Friars the grant of a pension or a fine new church might seem overgenerous. Therefore many ascetic orders benefitted considerably from grants in Group II as well as in Group I.

The range of privileges which the royal patron could give various houses was thus very considerable. As I have shown, those receiving no more than grants of privileges and confirmations might be directly under royal patronage, and the king could draw valuable revenues from them and intervene in their internal affairs, yet give them little in return. He might give large and valuable grants to houses outside his sphere of influence and under the patronage of others. There is therefore a dual standard in judging the patronage links of kings and monasteries. One is the network of rights exercised by a king over the houses under his patronage, involving custody during vacancies, the services of intercession, and interference and influence over its government and personnel. The

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1 H.II, II, 206-8; nos.dciiv-v.

2 H.II, II, 108-9, no.dxxxiv.

3 H.II, II, 158-9, no.dlxxiv.



other consists of the grants of different kinds and of different values made by kings to religious houses both within and without his own direct patronage. The two do not always coincide, for they vary according to the interests of the kings and the nature of the orders involved.

8. Royal charters given to religious houses in France, England and Scotland.

I have discussed the diverse kinds of relationships between kings and religious houses, but the question remains of how far it is possible and valuable to make a general overall survey of the kinds of grants made to different monasteries by different kings. The problems which have to be considered are the varying survival-rate of charters and rolls, and the difficulty of using the limited evidence to make general comparisons without painting an overgeneralised and inaccurate picture. A large number of documents have been lost, but to consult as large a sample as possible of those surviving, both printed and unprinted, would perhaps give at least a generally representative picture. With such evidence a general outline is all that it would be possible to make. Such an exercise was attempted for England and France, c.1150-1270, but it was felt that an insufficient number of unprinted charters had been consulted to give the results any positive value. The approach could, however, yield valuable and interesting results, and does so in the case of the grants of the Scots kings, Malcolm IV and William I, to the monastic orders. These have been drawn from the Regesta Regum Scottorum,<sup>1</sup> and tabulated in table 1,2, to serve as an example of and a pattern for a general survey of this type. The evidence may be incomplete, yet the compilation and edition of the documents makes

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1 Reg.R Sc, I - II.

the exercise possible within the limitations of the data. The small number of houses involved makes it necessary to express the number of grants in actual figures rather than percentages of the totals; the latter method would be more valuable in a more extensive survey, and would facilitate comparisons between the patronage of different kings. The links of the houses with different kings have been analysed according to the scheme explained above. Group I contains monasteries either founded or given major donations; Group II those receiving lesser pensions and privileges, and Group III confirmations and safeguards; again, groups II and III have been combined here because of the limited number of houses involved, but would not be in a larger survey. Within the groupings the houses are examined in different ways. Which orders did they belong to; were they houses for men or women; were they abbeys or priories; were they royal or non-royal foundations? These variables are for convenience designated Order, M/F, Status, and Relationship with King. The charters given by the Scots kings in England are added as a comparison. The table I, 2 implies that most houses in Scotland were founded by the Crown; the royal rôle in spreading the monastic orders was far greater than in France and England. This is substantiated below in chapter VII, where the whole question of foundations<sup>1</sup> is discussed more fully.

The spread of Scottish monasticism seems at first sight to be a systematic implantation of Anglo-French monasteries, which overlays the few more ancient Celtic houses. David I, Henry I's brother-in-law was strongly Anglo-Norman in sympathy, and introduced the new orders on a wide scale; in relation to his resources he was perhaps the greatest connoisseur of patronage of his age.<sup>2</sup> Links with England were close

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1 below, Chapter VII, pp. 337-8, 351.

2 Brooke, p.143.

for the family held the Earldom of Huntingdon. Yet allowing for these influences, Scottish monasticism had a strongly defined character of its own. In Table I, 2 are represented certain orders which had no houses in England at the time - the Benedictine congregation of Tiron, with houses at Arbroath and Kelso, and the Augustinian congregation of Arrouaise (included with the Augustinians) represented at Cambuskenneth. Moreover Arbroath is dedicated to Saint Thomas Becket, and represents a growing politico-ecclesiastical hostility in later twelfth century Scotland towards the English crown.<sup>1</sup> The Cistercian and Augustinian orders were clearly the most important, with the Benedictine-Cluniac-Tironnais group not far behind. It is thus clear that in the early and mid-twelfth century the majority of houses were royal foundations and that the majority of royal grants went to them. Under William the Lion, however, some important grants went also to noble foundations; in the later part of his reign the nobility began to emerge as founders and patrons of monasteries. The kings of Scotland also gave grants to English houses, some connected with their Huntingdon interests, others to monasteries in the North of England, in the disputed border areas; these grants clearly had a political slant.

General surveys on this pattern are valuable as a frame of reference for more detailed studies of royal foundations. Surveys of charters can also illustrate in numerical terms certain important considerations such as the crown gaining political support from leading houses at certain times, or conversely removing their support after changes in political circumstances. An example of the latter, which again serves as a pattern, is the fall-off of grants to monasteries in Normandy from the English royal houses, particularly after the loss of the duchy.

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1 below, pp. 308-9.

This naturally closed an era in the history of the Norman monasteries. John tried actively to stop revenues going from the English dependencies to their mother houses in the province.<sup>1</sup> The lands were seized and the export of money forbidden, and many English houses were allowed to farm the estates. D.J.A. Matthew gives the examples of the prior of Frampton, who farmed the lands of St.-Etienne at Caen, and the prior of Cogges, who paid 100 marks for the custody of his own house.<sup>2</sup> Royal pensions dropped dramatically,<sup>3</sup> as did also grants made from the royal chancery, illustrated in Graph I, 3. This covers the period 1160-1230. The diminishing numbers in Richard's reign are due both to its brevity and the king's prolonged absences on crusade. With John and Henry III, after the loss of Normandy, the fall-off becomes more defined. The links of the English house with these monasteries were replaced by the French crown even before the loss of Normandy.<sup>4</sup> The monasteries, too, were anxious to forge connections with their new masters. The order of Grandmont in Poitou, for example, went out of the way to claim the French kings as patrons.<sup>5</sup>

#### 9. Royal pensions to monasteries and their value.

As well as charters, the pensions given to monasteries by kings, paid out or allowed from the local accounts, are of some value in ascertaining the interests of kings in particular orders and houses. A king would make a grant of money, of kind or of land by charter, and his sheriffs and

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1 D.J.A. Matthew, The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions, Oxford, 1962, (= Matthew), pp.72-7.

2 Matthew, p.73; E. Mason, 'The English tithe income of Norman religious houses', BIHR, 117, 1975, pp.91-4 (= Mason).

3 Graph I, 6, below.

4 below, Chapter IV, section 7.

5 Grandmont, pp.174-5.

officials in the localities would be responsible for giving the money to the house, or, if the grant was of land, would account for its value to the crown.

To form a coherent pattern from grants of this kind is highly problematical. The pipe rolls in England, and more fragmentary accounts for Normandy and France, form a basis for study, but these documents have two sets of drawbacks. The first are connected with the question of whether they contain any information about the individual tastes of the kings, about whether pensions and lands allowed fluctuated in amount in the different reigns. They might appear to show no more than the workings of an almost automatic royal bureaucracy, which continues from reign to reign. Did a king have much room for manoeuvring his financial machinery, and for discontinuing or creating grants allowed from it at will? Clearly in general terms the machinery was intended to function both in the king's presence and in his absence, and was created to administer when the king was in absentia. Yet it was always clearly under royal direction, and royal writs and commands could be sent from as far afield as the Holy land. Richard I and Louis IX, for example, issued many charters from Palestine, and other kings from a variety of places nearer at hand. Another more specific way of answering the question is to examine the growth and change of pensions from an English county issue.

Table I, 5 shows the way in which pensions<sup>and land-grants</sup> from the Lincolnshire issues changed and developed in the different reigns. Many of the amounts allowed continued throughout the period covered; for example the 7s to the monks of Le Bec and the £8-10s to Sempringham once set up; other amounts vary but the pension continues, as to the canons of Lincoln. The money going to the nuns of Grimsby and the canons of Rufford fluctuated perhaps through problems facing the administration, and was

ultimately discontinued. Thus although in general pensions continued once they had been set up, there was also a considerable degree of manoeuvre possible for a king both to create new pensions and to discontinue them when he wished.

The pipe rolls will thus give a considerable amount of information about the interests of kings in different groups of monks, especially in terms of pensions created. But the second group of problems raised are connected with the effective functioning of the machinery, and how far it is feasible to make calculations from the pipe rolls which tell us only about one part of the royal financial machinery.

In general, the pipe rolls themselves reflect the smooth running of the financial machinery in the regularity of their entries, and any disruption emerges clearly in missing entries and a backlog of ingoing and outgoing money. In the Norman pipe rolls of the 1190s, for example, war is clearly affecting the administrative machinery, as is also the case in the early years both of Henry II and Henry III, when political upheavals have disturbed the bureaucratic efficiency. The conditions of obviously troubled times are clearly atypical and allowance has to be made for this. But another problem is the extent to which pipe rolls are a reliable guide to royal finances as a whole. Royal finances were handled by two different groups of people. The large proportion were paid directly and regularly into the Exchequer by the sheriffs, and the accounts, although not the balance, were entered upon the pipe rolls. But another sum was paid directly into the royal household, the camera. Professor T.F. Tout<sup>1</sup> considered that these amounts fluctuated considerably, and that even some sheriff's accounts, together with the profits of wardship, aids and revenues from certain royal manors went straight to the chamber without

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1 T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England, Manchester, 1920-33, I, 100-19.

being entered on the pipe rolls at all. Many other historians have disagreed with these views, and have suggested that, although it is clear that the functions of the Exchequer and the camera were closely linked and to some extent interchangeable, it also seems that under Henry II and Richard I at least the amounts going to the chamber were probably only £2-3,000, about one-tenth of the royal income, and that, more important, that the proportion of the whole income remained fairly static.<sup>1</sup> This idea must be accepted in order to make calculations based upon proportions of royal income of any value. With John and Henry III, however, the amounts of money passing through the chamber became both greater and more variable, and thus the figures become more tentative. Thus the sample years taken for Henry III's reign are only at twelve year intervals, and for the first part of the reign, although the 1254 and 1266 pipe rolls have also been examined.<sup>2</sup> More years are used as samples for the twelfth century, running from 1161-2 at ten year intervals and continuing into John's reign up to 1211-2. It must be borne in mind that all of the thirteenth century figures are highly tentative, and that the study is based upon proportions rather than absolute values.

Table I, 5 sets out the data collected from the sample rolls. The figures used are rounded ones. The totals allowed by the kings in pensions, alms and for lands to the religious orders and to charity have been calculated, with allowance made for the extra 2.5-5% value of blanche money. Amounts allowed in perdonis, which are often small, are not included. From the total, the amounts going to monasteries in England, monasteries in the Angevin Empire, called 'Angevin' in the table, the

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1 J.E.A. Joliffe, 'The camera regis under Henry II', EHR, 68, 1953, pp.5-21, 337-62; H.G. Richardson, 'The chamber under Henry II,' EHR, 69, 1954, pp.596-611.

2 PRO E 372 /98; E 372 / 110.

military orders and charity are expressed as percentages. For Henry III the friars are added. These figures should indicate a total value allowed from the county issues, but to make sense they need to be put in further context.

One of the most fruitful comparisons to make with the totals allowed on monastic patronage is the total royal income. To calculate this again involves the problems outlined above, and again it has to be assumed that the proportion of royal income dealt with by the pipe roll is at a roughly constant level. The calculations of Ramsey are based upon this premise,<sup>1</sup> and since he used a certain set of constants in a systematic manner they seem a useful method for judging at least the fluctuations in royal income. The figures are used in a relative rather than an absolute manner, for the amounts allowed to the monastic orders are expressed as percentages of the approximate royal income, in order to highlight their variations. This does not, of course, show how much the different kings spent, or even what proportion of their income they spent, upon the monastic orders. The amounts allowed were debited from the royal income before the money was presented at the exchequer. The 'proportional percentage of income' figure expresses the proportion of the whole income which the king allowed to be set aside for the monastic orders before the money and the accounts were presented and audited, and should be viewed in comparative rather than literal terms. It may also be set against some kind of price index. The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were ages of extreme inflation, and it is valuable to examine how far sums allowed to monasteries kept pace with the rising prices. A good commodity to select as an indicator for the price index is wheat, for most other goods

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1 J.H. Ramsey, A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, Oxford, 1925.



and commodities appear to follow its fluctuations.<sup>1</sup> K. Lamprecht made a convincing study of the rising price of wheat in England, which he expressed in terms of the average for twenty year periods, by the number of shillings a quarter. It is these figures which are used as a comparison with other totals.

The table has necessitated a long discursus on methodology, but produces some interesting results. In terms of the amounts allowed by the English kings on monastic patronage, the later twelfth century and in particular the later part of Henry II's reign, emerges as the optimum time. The total from the early years of his reign is low because of general disruption, but in 1171-2 and 1181-2 is appreciably higher; 7 and 9% in proportion to the royal income. This percentage continues under Richard I, but the amounts involved are less because the kings had granted the profits of six shires to John. Under John, the full amount from all shires is again expressed. This began to increase slowly, but not at the same rate as the expansion of the royal income which was effected through various expedients. Thus the amounts allowed on royal patronage proportionate to the royal income begins a steady decline. The figure showing the situation under Henry III are not as reliable, but they indicate that the drop continued. When the figures are set against the price index it becomes evident that the situation of the monasteries in terms of income gained, from this source, was worsening considerably. By 1200 prices had more than doubled from their 1160 levels, yet the amounts allowed to monasteries are almost identical at both times. In 1242 the total of £1,600 allowed, which may not be very accurate, has still not reached in absolute terms the highest level of £1,850, reached in 1181-2. The high percentage of the last years of Henry II are also reached in the Norman pipe rolls of 1180, although some caution is needed in taking these too literally.<sup>2</sup>

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1 D.L. Farmer, 'Price Fluctuations in Angevin England', EcHR, 2nd ser. vol.9, 1956, pp.34-43; K. Lamprecht, Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben in Mittelalter, Repr. Aalen, 1960, II, 512-601.

2 ed. Stapleton.

The figures imply that in about 1180, the percentage of royal allowances to monasteries against the royal income had reached a high point both in England and Normandy, and this was before prices had begun their steepest rise. It is possible that the real totals for Henry III would be higher both in relative and in absolute terms, for that king was both renowned for and hampered by his predilection for giving money and lands to both secular and ecclesiastical favourites. His expenditure on prestige projects such as Westminster abbey was considerable. Considerable sums of money, moreover, were given to the poor from the Exchequer and perhaps also from the Wardrobe<sup>1</sup>. But these figures certainly show Henry II as a relatively generous patron in financial terms, perhaps a surprising and certainly an interesting insight into his ecclesiastical preferences and policies.

The problems of making even so general and partial a financial study for France are increased by the very fragmentary survival of financial documents. For Louis VII, for example, the royal income has been estimated at £180,000 Parisis by Pacaut, but as a mere £60,000 Parisis by J.H. Benton.<sup>2</sup> Pacaut has calculated from royal charters that about £240 Par. was given in pensions. This does not include the <sup>theoretical</sup> value of lands granted as do the English figures, and thus cannot be used as a direct comparison. The proportional expenditure on pensions by the French crown may, however, be calculated in very general terms. Using Pacaut's estimate of the royal income and the amount allowed on pensions, a comparative percentage of 0.13 is arrived at; using Benton's estimate of the royal income, 0.4. This is a low proportion, and it is probable that many charters making grants have been lost. Philip-Augustus' 1202-3 account, which survives in full, however, gives a somewhat firmer guideline to work from. Its editors calculate that royal receipts in this

<sup>1</sup> H. Johnson, 'Poor relief in the royal households of thirteenth century England', Speculum, 4, 1929, pp. 149-67; G.L. Hearn, King, Parliament and Public Finance in England to 1369, Oxford, 1975, pp. 197-201.

<sup>2</sup> Pacaut, pp. 120, 156; J.H. Benton, 'The revenue of Louis VII', Speculum, 42, 1967, pp. 84-91.

year totalled about £197,000 Par. and that financial grants to monasteries, hospitals, the military orders and charity totalled about £1,228 or about 0.63% - perhaps an increase from the previous reign.<sup>1</sup> No full accounts for Louis VIII or Louis IX exist, but fragments both of the main account and the household expenses indicate a dramatic increase both in pensions and in alms; perhaps between a fifth and a quarter of the household expenses went on this. The problem of these calculations are discussed fully below,<sup>2</sup> but is clear that the proportion would be reduced a considerable extent taken in comparison to the far greater general expenditure on such essentials as ships, fortifications and general expenses of war. Even allowing for these extra amounts, however, it seems that Louis IX's expenditure on the religious orders was exceedingly high compared with that of his predecessors. This assessment is corroborated by the evidence of contemporaries such as William of St.-Pathus, who describes the criticism levelled against Louis for excessive spending on building-projects and on alms for the religious orders. This showed a marked similarity to the situation under Henry III in England - Louis, however, seems to have suffered less from financial problems, to have normally balanced his budget.<sup>3</sup> Thus his resources for such expenditure were probably greater than those of the English king.

The general implications of these figures are discussed in later chapters; here we may examine the fluctuations within the general totals allowed to different groups of recipients. Graph I, 6 represents the last column in Table I, 5. It shows, for England, the overall movements in the percentages of the totals allowed to each group, the English monasteries, monasteries in the Angevin Empire, the military orders and charity. The military orders received a roughly constant amount, but the rise to 19%

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1 Budget, pp.135-9, 96-8.

2 below, pp. 182-3, 197-9, 226-9.

3 H.Fr. XX, lv.

around 1230 reflects the keen interest shown in them by Henry III in the early part of his reign, when he intended to be buried in the Temple church.<sup>1</sup> The fairly high percentages maintained by his predecessors show a consistent interest in the crusading ideal, and also the practical value of these orders, with their international connections, to the crown. The ideal of charity, and donations to hospitals, too, remained fairly important; although the proportion appears to drop under Henry III this was more than compensated for by large sums of money given to the poor and mendicants directly from the royal household. Another trend which emerges clearly from the graph is the fall in the percentage of money allowed to the monasteries in the Angevin Empire, beginning before, but in particular after 1204;<sup>2</sup> English houses have a correspondingly higher proportion. This ties up with the fall in the number of grants to these houses illustrated in Graph I, 3. Where in 1181, 33% of money allowed from the English issues went to continental houses, a strikingly high figure - by 1211 it had dropped to 11%, while English houses received 67% of the total. Thus the political implications of the French conquest of the duchy of Normandy are reflected in the diminishing links of the English crown and the houses there. This is one trend which the figures show. Another is the large proportion of the total grants which went to the monastic orders rather than the military orders and charity, and later to the friars. This to some extent underlines the importance of the monasteries in a study of this kind, and makes sense of concentrating upon them in a general survey. This should, however, not be over-stressed. For when a king gave a small pension to a moderately sized hospital or friary, this might prove of far greater value to it than a larger grant of land to a far larger monastery. In making a more detailed assessment of royal foundations and major donations to the religious orders, this must be borne clearly in mind.

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1 Dugdale, VI (II), 817.

2 Mason.

These discussions of the ideas and of the functioning of royal patronage give an overall framework and provide some delineation for the subject. Yet the clearest way to explain the interests of the different kings in different religious orders is to examine the monasteries and orders for which they founded houses and to which they gave important and valuable grants. These shall be studied in the reigns of Stephen, the Empress, Henry II, Richard I, John for England and their French possessions, and for Louis VII, Philip-Augustus, Louis VIII and Louis IX for France. Henry I and Louis VI's reign provide an introduction to the major theme.

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Table I, 1.

The recipients of royal charters from  
Henry III.

	1235	1245	1255	Average
A. <u>Church</u>				
- Bishops, seculars	10%	12%	7%	10% + = 39%
- Monasteries	43%	22%	23%	29%
B. <u>State</u>				
- nobles	40%	60%	54%	51% +
- royal relatives	-	9%	7%	5% = 61% +
- towns/shires	3%	3%	9%	5%

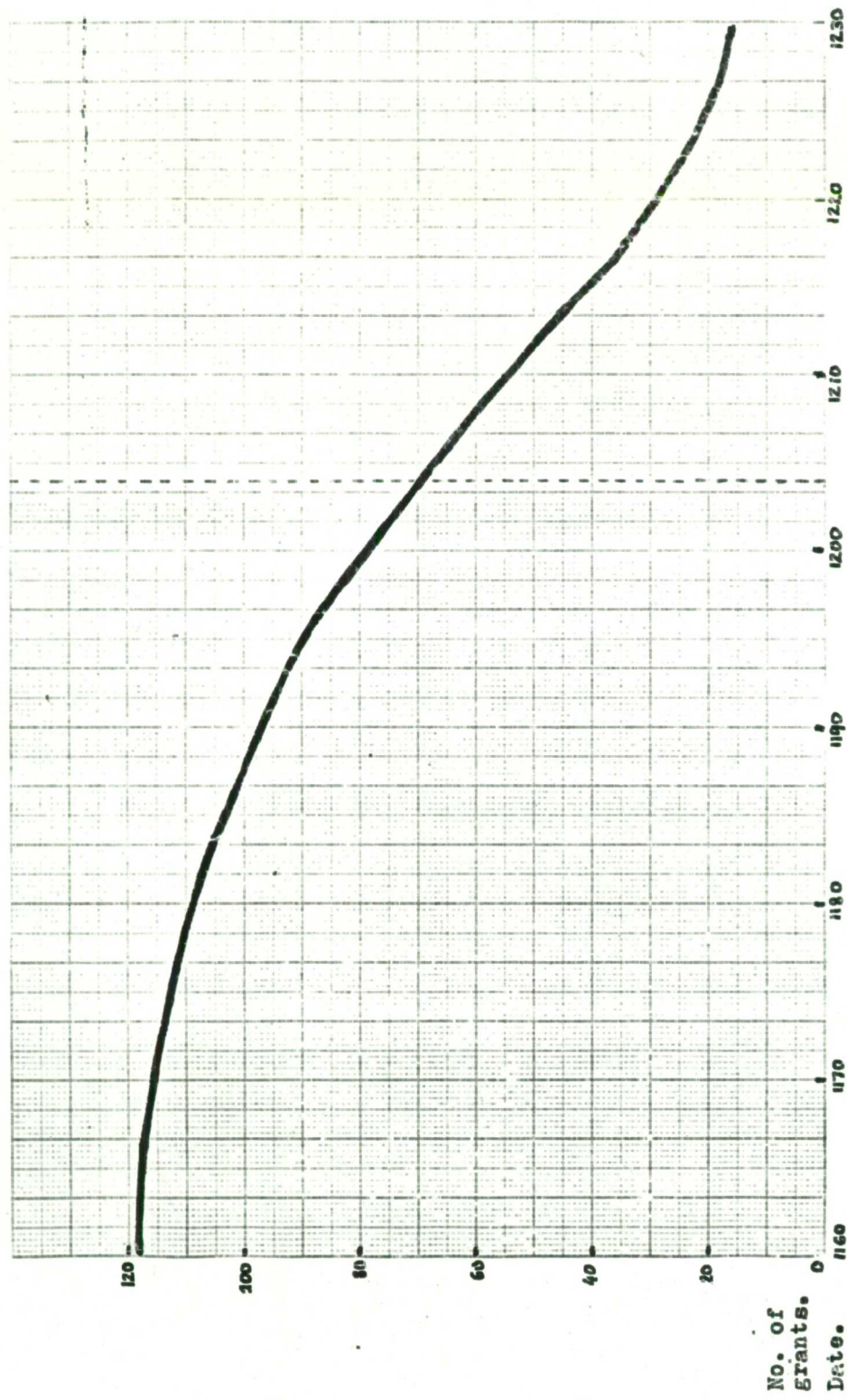
Table I, 2.      Donations of the Scottish Kings to Monasteries.

(actual numbers)		<u>Group I - foundations and donations</u>		<u>Groups II and III - privileges and safeguards</u>	
<u>Scotland</u>		<u>Malcolm IV</u>	<u>William I</u> / <u>Malcolm IV</u>	<u>William I</u>	
<u>Order</u>	Benedictine	1	3	2	-
	Cluniac	1	1	1	-
	Tironnais	1	3	-	1
	Cistercian	4	4	1	3
	Augustinian	5	5	2	4
	Premonstratensian	-	1	1	-
	Hospitals	2	1	2	1
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<u>M/F</u>	Male	13	17	8	7
	Female	2	1	-	2
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<u>Status</u>	Abbey	10	13	3	2
	Priory	5	5	5	7
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<u>Relationship with King</u>	Royal Foundation	12	12	5	5
	Non-royal	3	6	3	4
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<u>England</u>	Huntingdon charters			9	6
	Northern England and others			10	13

Source Reg.R.Sc.II - III.

44.

444



Graph 1.3. The fall in donations and confirmations by the English royal house to monasteries in Normandy and Anjou, c. 1160-1230.



Table I, 4      Pensions and lands allowed to religious houses  
in Lincolnshire.

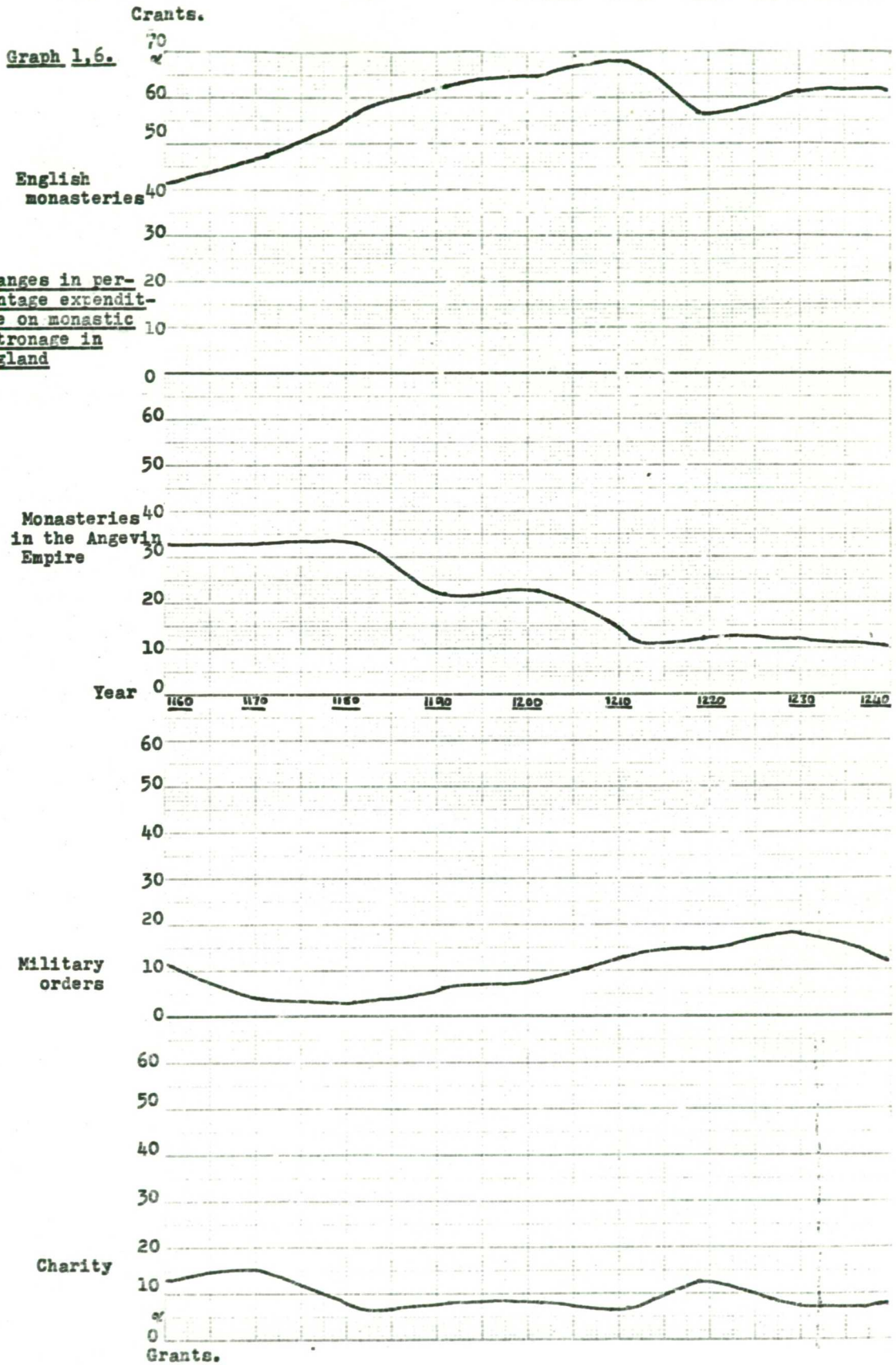
	1130	1161	1171	1181	1191	1201	1211	1218	1230	1242
Canons of Lincoln	£18	£28	£28	£28	£13.10s	£28	£28	£9+18	£9+18	£18
Monks of Le Bec	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s	7s
Canons of Grimsby		£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£3	£7-2s	£11-2s
Sempringham			£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s	£8-10s
Prior of Newstead						66s	-	66s	66s	66s
Nuns of Grimsby						27s	27s+ £7-2s	-	27-4d +12-6d	-
Nuns of Torksey						2m	2m	2m	2m	2m
Abbot of Rufford							2s-6d	-	2s-6d	-

(years are those used as sample years in tables below)  
(source: pipe rolls)

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Table 1, 5. ALLOWANCES FROM THE PIPE ROLL ON MONASTIC PATRONAGE  
IN ENGLAND

<u>Year</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Approximate royal income</u>	<u>Total allowed to Monasteries</u>	<u>Proportional %age of Income</u>	<u>Sub-Total to different Recipients</u>
1161-2	1.89	£15,000	£1,300	9%	English Monasteries 43% Angevin " 33% Military Orders 11% Charity 13%
1171-2		£21,000	£1,500	7%	English Monasteries 48% Angevin " 33% Military Orders 5% Charity 14%
1181-2	2.60	£21,000	£1,850	9%	English Monasteries 57% Angevin " 33% Military Orders 4% Charity 6%
1191-2		£11,000	£1,000	9%	English Monasteries 63% Angevin " 23% Military Orders 6% Charity 8%
1211-12		£40,000	£1,800	4½%	English Monasteries 57% Angevin " 13% Military Orders 14% Charity 6%
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1218		£20,000	£1,200	6%	English Monasteries 58% Angevin " 15% Military Orders 15% Charity 12%
1230	4.49	£50,000	£1,300	2½%	English Monasteries 62% Angevin " 13% Military Orders 19% Charity 6%
1242	4.58	£50,000	£1,600	3½%	English Monasteries 63% Angevin " 11% Military Orders 13% Charity 6% Friars 4%
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1180 Norman Pipe Roll		£24,000 Angevin	£1,560 Angevin	7%	Norman Monasteries 83% Military Orders 5% Charity 8%



## Chapter II

### HENRY I, STEPHEN AND THE EMPRESS MATILDA'S PATRONAGE OF MONASTERIES.

(1) Introductory: William I, William II and Henry I.

The reign of Henry I saw a change in the patterns of monastic patronage. Perhaps this was due mainly to the vast increase in the potential outlets for generosity, with the arrival of a considerable number of new orders. Monasticism flourished, houses multiplied dramatically as a far wider range of patrons saw the appeal of the different manifestations of the claustral way of life. Hence the king or duke became one potential patron out of many.

This situation is in marked contrast to that of the eleventh century and before, when the Benedictine order was rivalled only by hospitals and by secular canons. The Anglo-Saxon kings had a traditional interest in monasticism, and had taken the lead in the revival in the tenth century. Their special position was emphasised by their constant appearance in the prayers of the monks in the Regularis Concordia. This situation was paralleled in Germany,<sup>1</sup> but differed greatly from the continental reform movements; Cluny, for example, grew and flourished in an area 'sans roi, sans duc, et sans prince'. The continental monasticism also existed further apart from the hierarchy of secular priests than in England. The Anglo-Saxon cathedral chapters staffed by monks are a measure of the pre-eminent position the regulars held there.

The eleventh-century English kings, both Anglo-Saxon and Danish, maintained these special links. Cnut gave generously to English monasteries, and helped to found Bury-St-Edmund's, and St-Benet's of Holme,<sup>2</sup> while Edward the Confessor refounded Westminster Abbey.<sup>3</sup> The Norman dukes held, like

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1. F.Heer, The Holy Roman Empire, trans.Janet Sondheimer, London, 1968, pp.38-9

2. Mon. Ord. p.70.

3. KH, p.80.

the Saxon kings, a very important position as patrons of the Norman church. The duchy was in the eleventh century only two centuries removed from a pagan Viking settlement. But from the foundation of Fécamp, c.1001, there had been a growing interest in the Church and in the foundation of monasteries. When William the Conqueror inherited the duchy in 1035, all ten Benedictine houses there owed their foundation or re-establishment to ducal influence, but of the additional twenty or so established before 1066, many were founded by the nobility, perhaps since ducal power was in partial eclipse.<sup>1</sup> William was to restore his authority rapidly, and he thus inherited and utilised both traditions of monastic patronage.<sup>2</sup> A stern, harsh man, with a conventional piety, he took a strong interest in the religious life. Apart from his general re-organisation of the English monasteries - by imposing a large number of Norman abbots, by regulating the internal government, and by encouraging the continental observance with Lanfranc's Consuetudines,<sup>3</sup> he was generous to many individual houses both in Normandy and in England. His most important foundations in the duchy were at Caen and realised c.1063-4. La Ste.-Trinité for nuns was also to be the mausoleum of his wife Matilda, and St.-Etienne, his own. The houses were to be an expiation for their marriage, for their degree of relationship was apparently reckoned too close to be tolerated by canon law, and a papal dispensation had to be granted.<sup>4</sup> Both houses were built with great care, expense and magnificence, and both became important in the province. The Duke may also have founded Montebourg there,<sup>5</sup> although this owed a great deal to Henry I.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Mon. Ord. pp.83-8; D.C. Douglas, William the Conqueror, London, 1964, pp.108-32.

2. The monastic patronage of William I, William II and Henry I in particular has been analysed and discussed in Professor C.N.L.Brooke's article (cited Chapter 1, section 1). For William I see pp.128-35. Its value has been very great for the following discussion, and I have only touched briefly upon problems treated more fully there.

3. Mon.Ord. pp.100-127.

4. Gallia, XI, 420-9, 431-8, inst.66-72; Reg.R. I,1-2, no.4; 27, no.105; 30, no.116; Douglas, pp.391-5.

5. Gallia, XI, inst. 229-31.

6. BL Add. MS 15605, f.16.

William, like Edward the Confessor before him, granted the Norman monasteries many English possessions, as did his baronage. Hence a considerable proportion of the money allowed from the shires on monastic patronage in the twelfth century went abroad from England.<sup>1</sup> To St.-Etienne, for example, William I granted the manors of Corsham and Frampton,<sup>2</sup> while Tackley, Essex, he probable founded as a thank-offering for the conquest, and gave to St.-Valéry in Picardy.<sup>3</sup> In England, Selby Abbey, Yorks, he may have created c.1069 in response to a request from a Benedictine monk from Auxerre who brought him a finger of Saint Germain. The foundation charter is certainly spurious but may contain some truth about the foundation.<sup>4</sup> The Norman work there is, like its southern equivalent at St.-Albans, a reminder that a different style of building, seen before only at Westminster, was introduced on a wider scale in England. This also emerges from the plan of Battle Abbey in Sussex. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle relates that the house was sited by William upon the place where God had allowed him to conquer England.<sup>5</sup> Battle was intended as commemoration of the conquest, with the high altar on the site where Harold supposedly fell. Although many of the early charters which emphasise this story are forged,<sup>6</sup> the tale of the foundation, related in a later chronicle of the abbey, is a likely one and fits in well with the penance which William later imposed on his army for the battle itself.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Matthew, pp.30-2.

2. KH, pp.87-8.

3. KH, p.93; Brooke, p.134.

4. KH, p.76; Reg.R. I, 48-9, no.178.

5. ed. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, 1961, (= ASC), p.163.

6. e.g. Reg.R. I, 16-17, no.62; R.Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, London, 1929, pp.188-208; E. Searle, 'Battle Abbey & exemption, the forged charters', EHR, 1969, pp.449-80.

7. Chronicon Monasterii de Bello, ed. J.S. Brewer, London, 1846, pp.1-30; C. Morton 'Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest', Latomus, 34, 1975, pp.362-82, esp. pp.381-2.

Battle, Selby and the two houses at Caen were William's major foundations, and he was clearly a generous patron, particularly to Norman houses. In England, Knowles suggests, 'there was no wholesale deprivation to benefit the new holders of the great fiefs',<sup>1</sup> and the monasteries and nunneries there suffered most, apart from individual problems of destruction, from military assessments.

E.A. Freeman, in his Reign of William Rufus, wrote that 'the gifts (to monasteries) of William Rufus make a poor show between the gifts of the founder of Battle and the founder of Reading'.<sup>2</sup> But Rufus was decidedly the least religious-minded of the Norman kings; his chief interests were hunting and warfare, and he seems to have regarded the church primarily as a source of income. Nevertheless, as the circumstances of his appointment of Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury show, he was occasionally subject to bouts of conscience,<sup>3</sup> and perhaps it was this side of his character, together with a feeling for his father, which persuaded him to make endowments to a few religious houses. His greatest generosity was, it seems, shown towards his father's foundations, Battle and St.-Etienne at Caen. St.-Etienne, for example, was granted the manor at Creech in 1096-7 and other lands and tithes,<sup>4</sup> and Battle several churches including the one at Bromham at its dedication.<sup>5</sup> William may also have granted the manor of Bermondsey to Aldwin Child's Cluniac foundation there, c.1089, although the annals of the house are unreliable and his charter making the grant may be merely confirmatory.<sup>6</sup> He also took some

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1. Mon.Ord. pp.117-8; cf.H.G.Richardson and G.O.Sayles, The Governance of Medieval England, Edinburgh, 1963 (=GME), pp.65-6.

2. E.A.Freeman, The Reign of William Rufus, Oxford, 1882, II, 506.

3. ed. R.W.Southern, The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer, OMT, 2nd. edn. 1972, pp.64-5; Brooke, pp.135-6.

4. Reg.R. I, 100-101, no.397; Freeman, II, 504-5.

5. Freeman, II, 504; Dugdale, III, 246; Brooke, p.136.

6. VCH, Surrey, II, 64-5; Reg.R. I, 101, no.398; Brooke, p.136, n.36.

interest in a group of Yorkshire houses. He probably helped to create the abbey of St.-Mary's, York, for although the foundation charter is forged,<sup>1</sup> another document,<sup>2</sup> shows that he gathered the lands on which the abbey was to be built - and this seems genuine. The estates belonged to the hospital of St.-Peter's, York, a foundation of Athelstan (c.997), which, according to its register, he moved to a larger site. He also added to its lands, and was viewed by the house as its founder.<sup>3</sup> In 1087-9 he granted another church in York, All Saints, Fishergate, to the abbey of Whitby, for the construction of a priory there, and there was to be a small cell here in the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> Other houses are attributed to him spuriously; they include the hospital at Thetford and the Benedictine nunnery at Armanthwaite,<sup>5</sup> but it is clear that despite his irreligious turn of mind Rufus fulfilled one of the traditional duties of kingship and made at least some valuable gifts to monastic houses. But because of his financial exactions which caused temporary hardship and disruption,<sup>5</sup> it seems likely that he gained more from these institutions than he gave them.

In the early years of Henry I's reign the Norman houses again suffered disruption from the disputed succession to the duchy, and the English ones, problems over the status of their abbots arising from the investiture disputes.<sup>6</sup> But Henry was also a generous patron of the monastic orders both in England and on the continent. The continuator of Symeon of Durham wrote somewhat panegyrically of him: 'personas ecclesiasticas reverenter excoleret, pauperes et religiosos sumptuosis eleemosinis foveret'.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Reg.R. I, 81, no.313.

2. Reg.R. I, 88, no.338.

3. Dugdale, VI (2), 607-9.

4. Reg.R. I, 105, no.421; VCH; Yorks, III, 106.

5. Mon.Ord. p.144.

6. A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, Oxford, 2nd edn. 1955 (= Poole), p.184.

7. H.Fr. XIII, 83.



The cornucopia of kingly virtues with which this writer endows Henry do not ring wholly true. Henry was in many ways a savage and ruthless man who treated the government of his realm as a business.<sup>1</sup> William of Jumièges, however, commented that although he was loath to part with temporalities he had a reputation for piety.<sup>2</sup> For Henry was at times generous to the monastic orders on a surprisingly lavish scale. One side of this was connected with family and dynastic ties and ambitions. Thus he helped the Augustinians whom his wife Matilda favoured, and he gave very generously to Cluny where his nephew, Henry of Blois, was a monk before his English career. Savigny, of which Stephen, Henry's brother, was the patron as Count of Mortain, was also given valuable help. These family links are also connected with another side of his patronage in Reading abbey. This was his 'grand act of penance',<sup>3</sup> founded after the death of his son and heir William in the White Ship in 1120. This tragedy evidently disturbed Henry deeply, and many of his monastic foundations were made, perhaps in a spirit of piety, certainly in one of sorrow, after it took place. For as well as founding Reading as a family mausoleum in the 1120s, he was increasingly generous to the Augustinians and created the abbey of Mortemer which became Cistercian. Yet 1120 was by no means a watershed. The King had founded Cirencester c.1117, and had probably been the major benefactor to Cluny itself from c.1109. He may have begun to plan the great Cluniac foundation in England, which Reading became, before 1120.<sup>4</sup>

After the death of Alfonso VI of Castile in c.1109, according to

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1. R.W.Southern, 'The place of Henry I in English History .....', PrBrA, 48, 1962, pp.127-69; Brooke, p.136.

2. H.Fr. XII, 580.

3. Brooke, pp.139-40.

4. KH, p.74; Brooke, p.138.

Walter Map,<sup>1</sup> Henry completed the third great church there at his own expense and in substance his evidence is corroborated by a far better witness, Abbot Peter the Venerable, himself. Professor Conant suggests that he rebuilt the western parts of the nave, several towers and the great west door, and that he repaired the nave after it fell in 1125.<sup>2</sup> He showed some generosity to the order in England, perhaps by presenting them with a circular church at Northampton, c.1122,<sup>3</sup> and in 1131 granted an annual rent of 100 marks to the mother house.<sup>4</sup> Reading abbey was colonised from St-Pancras at Lewes, of which Henry was a patron, but while following the observances of the Cluniac order it was unaffiliated to Cluny itself.<sup>5</sup> It was endowed richly with lands, including the estates of the nunneries of Reading and Leominster and the monastery at Cholsey, which had become defunct after the Viking invasions; Dr Kemp suggests that about 90% of the endowments it received in the twelfth century came from the king and his associates.<sup>6</sup> The earliest grants were made in c.1121, and although the foundation charter dates from 1125,<sup>7</sup> the house was not consecrated finally until 1164. It was built on an imposing scale and in a magnificent style, and was a fitting mausoleum for Henry I and his family.<sup>8</sup>

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1. See Brooke, pp.137-8, where the question is discussed fully.
  2. K.J. Conant, Cluny, les Eglises et la Maison du Chef D'Ordre, Mâcon, 1968, pp.81-82, 99-100, 110.
  3. Reg.R. II, 170-1, no.1318; Dugdale, V, 185, 191-2; KH, p.101; Brooke, p.139.
  4. Reg.R. II, 138, no.1691; 252, no.1713.
  5. J.C.B. Hurry, Reading Abbey, London, 1901; BL.Cott. Vesp.E.V.
  6. Brooke, pp.140-1; B.R.Kemp, The foundation of Reading Abbey and the growth of its possessions and privileges in the twelfth century, Univ.of Reading Ph.D. thesis, 1966 (= Kemp), pp.43-8.
  7. Reg.R. II, 152, no.1238; 192-3, no.1427.
  8. Reading as a mausoleum is discussed below, pp. 301-2.

The king showed considerable favour to the Benedictines. In England he helped many houses founded by other men, such as Wetheral priory in Cumberland.<sup>1</sup> He may have created a priory for nuns at Newcastle-on-Tyne c.1135, himself.<sup>2</sup> He also granted English lands to certain Norman monasteries, giving, for example, Bonne-Nouvelle at Rouen land for a priory at Steventon, Berkshire,<sup>3</sup> and regranting Corsham to Marmoutiers near Tours.<sup>4</sup> Bonne-Nouvelle, or Nôtre-Dame-des-Prés, considered Henry as its founder; although it had existed in the eleventh century he had given it substantial endowments.<sup>5</sup> It was a priory of Le Bec, for which, according to William of Jumièges, Henry had a particular affection.<sup>6</sup> His other major English foundation apart from Reading was Cirencester, an Augustinian house. The Augustinian canons enjoyed a particular favour at court,<sup>7</sup> and this house, begun c.1117, was given unusually large endowments for an Augustinian foundation. As with Henry II's Waltham, the revenues of an existing secular college were utilised.<sup>8</sup> A similar process underlay his foundation of Carlisle, c.1122-3, which became the seat of a bishopric, c.1138.<sup>9</sup> His other Augustinian houses included Dunstable (c.1125?), St.-Denys-by-Southampton (c.1127), and Wellow-by-Grimsby (c.1132?), smaller monasteries,<sup>10</sup> while Queen Matilda, encouraged by Anselm,

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1. VCH, Cumbs, II, 184-5.

2. KH, p.262.

3. KH, p.92.

4. Reg.R. II, 22, no.593.

5. Gallia, XI, 239-44; Dugdale, VI, (2), 1100; Reg.R. II, 164, no.1290.

6. H.Fr. XII, 580.

7. J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England, London, 1950, pp.108-148; Brooke, pp.141-2.

8. Ross, *passim*.

9. VCH, Cumbs, II, 131.

10. KH, pp.140, 143, 144, 156, 172, 179.

had founded Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in 1107 or 1108, which became the centre for the dramatic expansion of the order in England.<sup>1</sup> One reason for the appeal of the order was its flexibility; houses could be modest in size, as St.-Denys, and within the reach of the lesser nobility. The royal entourage set the example, and founded at least thirty-three of the forty-four monasteries which came into existence in Henry's reign.<sup>2</sup> The king and queen helped many houses - St.-Bartholomew's, Smithfield, St.-Frideswide's, Oxford, and Ste-Barbe-en-Auge, in Normandy, which was granted a full confirmation.<sup>3</sup> Some mid-twelfth century capitals from St.-Bartholomew's, and the west front at Dunstable show that these houses were built very much within the ambience of the traditional Norman style.

Mortemer, Eure, the Cistercian refoundation of Henry, is in its simplicity of style a dramatic contrast with his Augustinian houses. This owed its existence to the dissensions in the Benedictine house of Beaumont-le-Perreux, founded c.1130 by Walter Giffard, reaching the ears of the king. He told the monks that they should: 'locum ordini suo congruum quererent quem sibi donare posset, ac ipsius fundator exstiteret'.<sup>4</sup> According to this cartulary, much of the house, of which parts remain,<sup>5</sup> was built in two years on the site which Henry gave, c.1134, in the forest of Lyons.<sup>6</sup> The foundation did not become officially Cistercian until 1137; no charter from Henry I survives and it is not wholly clear that this was his intention from

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1. Dugdale, VI (I), 157. C.N.L.Brooke & G. Keir, London 800-1216, the shaping of a City, London, 1975, (=Brooke and Keir), p.320.

2. Dickinson, pp.128-9.

3. Reg.R. II, 262, no.1761; 297, no.1943; 227, no.1587, J. Lechaudé d'Anisy, Extrait des Chartres .. dans les Archives du Calvados, Caen, 1834, I, 92-3, nos.1-2.

4. BN MS Lat.18369, ff.3-4.

5. fig.II, 1, part of later claustral buildings.

6. P.F. Gallagher, The Monastery of Mortemer-en-Lyons in the twelfth century, its history and cartulary; Ph.D. University of Nôtre Dame, 1970, (= Gallagher), p.15.

the first. The account already quoted from the cartulary implies that this may be the case, as does his general support of the white monks. He also encouraged them to settle in England, at Waverley and Fountains.<sup>1</sup> He helped Tiron, granting freedom from dues and an annual pension of fifteen marks, and, as the author of the Vita Beati Bernardi Abbatis Tironensis explains: 'nostri dormitorii aedes faciendas suscepit, quas multis expensis pecuniis regia magnificentia consummavit'.<sup>2</sup> Likewise Savigny was given aid by the king; he issued several charters in favour of Vitalis, the founder,<sup>3</sup> and gave the house vineyards and the church of Dompierre.<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey, the second abbot, also found considerable favour with him.<sup>5</sup>

As well as being a patron of the new orders, Henry was a great founder of and benefactor to hospitals. St.-Bartholomew's, Oxford, c.1129, was his most important, and was given lands and a pension of more than £23 a year.<sup>6</sup> Other hospitals whose foundation is attributed to him are St.-John's, Cirencester, Holy Innocents, Lincoln, St.-Mary's, Newcastle, St.-Giles', Shrewsbury and St.-Mary's, Colchester,<sup>7</sup> the last which was established by Eudo, his seneschal, but all credit taken by the king. He gave lands to St.-Jean at Falaise, which had been founded by a citizen.<sup>8</sup> Queen Matilda created St.-Giles', Holborn, and perhaps St.-James and Mary at Chichester,<sup>9</sup> while his second wife, Adela, founded St.-Giles', Wilton.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Mon.Ord. p.230.

2. H.Fr. XIII, 173; Reg.R. II, 139, no.1169; 152, no.1236.

3. Reg.R. II, 105, no.1003; 107, no.1015.

4. Reg.R. II, 108, no.1016; 148, no.1212.

5. Gallia, XI, 543; Mon.Ord. p.227, note 1.

6. VCH, Oxon, II, 157.

7. KH, pp.352,353, 371, 378, 391; R.M. Clay, Medieval Hospitals in England, London, 1909, (= Clay), p.302.

8. D'Anisy, I, 321, nos.1-2.

9. KH, pp.365, 352; VCH, Sussex, II, 99.

10. KH. n.403.

One interesting element in Henry's reign is the clear emergence of patterns in royal patronage of monasteries which are to recur in the dealings of his successors with the religious orders. One is the care with which he alienated domain lands to the church; this was done occasionally as a lavish gesture, but more often he regranted land from another monastery or he refounded an existing house. Stephen and Henry II in particular were to imitate this method of creating monasteries. The kings of France showed equal care with their grants of land, but in the twelfth century their resources were somewhat less extensive. Perhaps this is one reason why their foundations numbered less than those of the English crown. Another pattern is the influence of dynastic links in making patronage grants, which was to be a significant factor in Stephen's relationship with the monastic orders. It is also in Henry I's reign that the system of making grants to monastic houses from the country issues first emerges. The 1129-30 English pipe roll which has survived, taken in conjunction with charters and with the early pipe rolls of Henry II, indicates that Henry I allowed money for regular pensions to monastic houses both in England and in Normandy. By this time this aspect of the work of the financial machinery seems to have evolved into a coherent system; this was the basis for future grants made under Henry's successors, as the table showing pensions from the Lincolnshire issues indicates.<sup>1</sup>

The entries in the 1129-30 roll are not as full as those from the reign of Henry II, but they nevertheless reveal a certain amount of information about Henry I's patronage of monasteries, and, not least, his penchant for the Augustinian canons. His own foundation, the cathedral of Carlisle with its Augustinian chapter, for example, receives £10 for work on the church, at the same time as the city walls are being built.<sup>2</sup> Nostell priory, founded with his help,<sup>3</sup> is granted a pension of £18.5s. de novo in

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1. above, table I, 4.

2. PR 31, Henry I, p.140-1.

3. KH, p.169.

Yorkshire. The prior is also given an additional total of £23.6s.8d from the revenues of the bishopric of Durham.<sup>1</sup>

The grants made de novo have evidently been made recently by Henry himself, but some, made in elemosinis or decimis or liberationibus constitutis, are clearly older in origin. The 1129-30 system of grants thus seems well-established but when records of them were first kept consistently is not easy to see. Often it is difficult to trace the older grants, for in some shires, no record of the beneficiary is given. For Wiltshire, for example, an entry reads: 'et in decimis constitutis, 1s', and later: 'xiiii s', and 'ix s'.<sup>2</sup> By the time of the next extant pipe roll, 2 Henry II, the Wiltshire issues list grants of land and alms to specific houses and orders.<sup>3</sup> Those to the Templars and Ivychurch priory have clearly been set up by Stephen and Henry II. The 50s and the 14s. in tithes have disappeared, but the nine shillings reappears, granted to the canons of Old Sarum. If this is the same grant as the one appearing in 1129-30, it could have been made at any time from 1075, when the see was established here. A likely origin is a grant by Henry I of tithes in the New Forest, c.1107-16.<sup>4</sup> Another gift to the canons by Matilda of her right to the market in Salisbury (1101-18), emerges in 1130 valued at 40s.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1107 Henry had granted St.-Andrew's, Northampton, 20s. p.a., and, again, this is paid out in 1129-30.<sup>6</sup> Another donation may precede this. In 1087-8 Rufus sent a mandate to his sheriff that Bishop Remigius of Lincoln and his canons should possess their church and tithes at 'Chircheton' and 'Hibaldeston' just as they had held it under his father,

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1. PR 31 Henry I, pp.24, 131.

2. PR 31 Henry I, p.17.

3. PR 31 Henry I, p.17; 2-4 Henry II, p.58.

4. Reg.R. II, 138, no.1162.

5. Reg.R. II, 145, no.1199; PR 31 Henry I, p.13.

6. KH, p.101; PR 31 Henry I, p.135; Reg.R. II, 70, no.833.

William I. In the pipe roll of 31 Henry I the canons of Lincoln are allowed £18 in alms, with no location specified, but in 2 Henry II the entry reads: 'et in decimis constitutis canonicis Lincolnensis, £18 pro £18 quas habebant in Chircheton'.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, then, by 1129-30, the allowance from the county account of money in tithes, lands and alms, stemming from royal grants, was a well-established system with several decades of growth behind it.<sup>2</sup> Such gifts did not necessarily have to be renewed at the beginning of each reign, yet a constant record of grants made was kept, and could be changed by a king if he thought fit. Very often, however, grants made in perpetuum were honoured for centuries.

Henry I was a generous patron of both new and old orders. Yet during the later part of his reign, in both England and Normandy, members of the greater and lesser baronage and of the bourgeoisie were beginning to take an ever-increasing interest in monastic patronage. The growing number of new orders, giving a wider choice, and the diminished reputation of royal authority in the relatively anarchical situation in both states under the rival factions of the Empress and Stephen, fostered the decreasing importance of the king as the one outstanding monastic patron. Yet he was also to have more orders to choose from, and the mid-twelfth century recovery of power by Henry II left him, with his great influence and wealth, as a vital potential helper to different groups of monks. In these changed circumstances, what roles did the rulers of England and the Angevin Empire play? The question is examined in Chapter VII in terms of the extent to which royal patronage of the monastic orders appears to be typical of the whole social spectrum. This is done tentatively by statistical means. But the clearest answer may perhaps be obtained by examining the various penchants of Stephen and his successors for the different orders. This is expressed most obviously in the foundation of monasteries.

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1. Reg.R. I, 79, no.305; PR 31 Henry I, p.109; 2-4 Henry II, p.28.

2. <sup>This section follows the argument that</sup> the administration probably underwent considerable development in the late eleventh century: eg. R.W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and the early Anglo-Norman administration', TRHS, 4 ser.III, 1933, pp.95-128.



2. Stephen and the Empress - Politics and monastic Patronage,  
1135-54.

While Stephen and Matilda were disputing the titles to England and Normandy, the monastic expansions in these areas was reaching its peak. Its causes were probably divorced from the political conditions. It could of course be interpreted as reaction to anarchy, a seeking for security in troubled times, yet the movement had been gathering momentum in the later years of Henry I, and might easily have suffered, rather than gained, from the disruptions. It is also clear that the extent of the devastation was exaggerated by many monastic chroniclers who had been at the heart of a local outbreak of violence. The Peterborough writer paints a lurid picture, yet he also describes the rebuilding and decoration of his house during these same years.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the established abbeys, and those in the process of foundation, saw little action. There are, however, notable exceptions. These tended to lie in the areas of direct fighting. A monastery could be too important to leave as a sanctuary, in a position of neutrality. H.A. Cronne writes:-

'In an age of timber and wattle and daub building, when stone houses were still uncommon, and a great many castles were of the motte and bailey type, a stone built church with its tower was always a potential and sometimes an actual strongpoint. A military commander neglected it at his peril in the course of any operation in its neighbourhood.'<sup>2</sup>

Thus several houses were used as fortresses or barracks; Coventry by Robert Marmion (1142), Wilton (1143) and Reading by Stephen, and Ramsey by Geoffrey de Mandeville (1142-3) - to give some English examples. Many houses were ravaged and burned for the same reasons; William of Ypres, for example, destroyed Wherwell in 1141 for giving support to the Empress.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Mon.Ord. p.272; ASC, p.200.

2. H.A. Cronne, The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign, London, 1970, (= Cronne), p.2.

3. Mon.Ord. pp.262-72; Kemp, p.174.

Yet even these houses could gain in the long run. Great lords were inclined to make reparation for damage done, for the health of their souls.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this might turn a hostile community into an ally. Duke Henry, for example, gave a charter to St.-Paul's, Bedford, in 1152, making grants: 'in restauracione destructionis et dampnorum que eidem feci ecclesie'. He takes the canons under his protection, and adds: 'cum autem deo volente jus meum Anglie adeptus fuero, feodum ecclesie illius augmentabo et ubicunque manutenebo'.<sup>2</sup> This was an attempt not only to make amends to a religious house, but also to gain its support through lures of future gifts. For clearly monasteries in important strategic sites, and with powerful abbots and priors, could be important allies. The two royal factions, Stephen Queen Matilda and their son Eustace, and the Empress Matilda, Geoffrey Plantagenet and Henry, realised their significance, and were constantly looking to gain support from them. Thus Gloucester and Le Bec were given generous grants and confirmations by both sides, not least in the case of Gloucester, perhaps, because of its parochial rights inside the castle, which had been built on land originally belonging to it.<sup>3</sup>

In a more direct way, patronage disputes between the two groups became intense, and are reflected in the series of charters given to several houses. Cirencester, Reading and Mortemer were all foundations of Henry I, and both groups looked back to him directly in their gifts and safeguards. Stephen gave Mortemer a confirmation and new grants in 1137, for the souls of his family, and for Henry I, the founder of the house, and for the safety of his English and Norman domains. Duke Geoffrey, in the same year,

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1. Cronne, p.3.

2. Reg.R. III, 32, no.81.

3. Reg.R. III, 131-9, nos.345-65, 29-31, nos.73-80; The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, ed. C.N.L.Brooke and A. Morey, Cambridge, 1967, pp.417-8, no.372.

granted thirty acres of land for the Angevin dynasty, for his wife, the Empress, for all his 'friends', and again, for Henry I.<sup>1</sup> Similar claims were made by both sides in regard to the other houses, and were carried beyond the point of absurdity in the case of Bordesley. This Cistercian house was in fact created by Waleran, Count of Meulan, c.1138-9, on land granted by the Empress.<sup>2</sup> But his wavering allegiance, combined with the tendencies of both Stephen and the empress to take credit for foundations not strictly their own, lead to both of them claiming the abbey as a personal creation in 1141. Waleran was relegated to the rank of intermediary in Stephen's confirmation charter, but was ignored entirely by the Empress. As also with the case of Le Valasse - another foundation of Waleran's - which she regranted from Bordesley to Mortemer, under her patronage, she gives a full foundation charter, which seems full of pride at her own generosity.<sup>3</sup> Personal hubris played an important part here, yet the support of a monastery was valued to a great extent. Even Philip-Augustus in his intelligent winning over of the Norman houses in the 1190s, did not make such grandiose claims. But he did, like both sides in the mid twelfth century, use well-placed grants and safeguards.<sup>4</sup> Bribery would in this context seem a loaded term. Let it suffice to say that these grants, the normal currency of mutual understanding between kings and monks, became important political instruments in times when allegiance was divided. The monasteries, with their lands, wealth and influence, yet their relative lack of protection, were an ideal target for a ruler, or would-be ruler, to attempt to win over. Their experiences during the mid century disruptions show their awareness of this.

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1. Reg.R. III, 220-1, nos.598-9.

2. Dugdale, V, 407.

3. Reg.R. III, 42-3, nos.114-6, 331, no.909; Gallia, XI, 313; ed. F. Somménil, Chronicon Valassense, Rouen, 1868, pp.7-23, 119.

4. below, Chapter IV, section 7.

On another level, certain orders became embroiled in the complex political intrigues. Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester and Abbot of Glastonbury, papal legate (1139-43) and Stephen's brother, was a Cluniac monk, and gained Saint Bernard's - and thus the Cistercian order's opprobrium for his political intrigues - his loyalty to Stephen wavered on several occasions - and his love of fighting. Bernard referred to him on one occasion as the 'whore of Winchester'. One of his most nefarious activities in Cistercian eyes was his attempt, with Stephen, to place one of their nephews into the see of York - against Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, the Cistercian candidate.<sup>1</sup> The dispute which lasted through the 1140s involved many emotive and difficult issues - the traditional and rankling divisions of Cistercians and Cluniacs, the liberties of the English church - particularly over elections which Henry himself had insisted that Stephen should uphold in the Oxford charter of liberties in 1135, the right of the Cistercian order to uphold these liberties, and the desire of Henry and Stephen to advance their own kindred. This last was further illustrated by Stephen's refusal, once Murdac's claims had been upheld by the Pope, to recognise him until his son Eustace had been accepted as his heir. The whole conflict was a microcosm of the old ideas about Church government, and the new. And an extra dimension was added in the quarrels over the order of Savigny.

Stephen was considered to be the lay-advocate of the mother-house and of the order. Savigny was situated in the county of Mortain, which he had held since 1113. He and his wife brought into being several houses of the order in the 1120s and -30s - Longvilliers, Buckfast, Coggeshall and Furness. In the 1140s, however, there was a great deal of trouble in the

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1. Mon.Ord. pp.254-7; Cronne, pp. 41-53, 58-66.

order, involving its patronage rights, which has been interpreted very convincingly by R.H.C. Davis in a recent account.<sup>1</sup> In 1142 Geoffrey of Anjou overran Mortain, and began to show considerable generosity to Savigny with grants of freedom from tolls, and safeguards.<sup>2</sup> Some English houses of the congregation possessed as patrons supporters of the Angevin cause. Neath had as its advocate Robert of Gloucester, and Quarr, Baldwin de Redvers. In 1144 Abbot Serlo was elected, and being unable to control most of the English houses because of the political split in the order, he consulted the Pope, and accepted his solution of an amalgamation of his congregation with Cîteaux.<sup>3</sup> This decision must, because of Stephen's already strained relationship with the white monks, have further deepened the split in England. Most houses, apart from Neath and Quarr, did not send representatives to the Cistercian general chapters. Byland, whose patrons supported the Angevins, struggled for independence from its mother house, Furness,<sup>4</sup> which led the resistance for four years. This house was Stephen's most important and wealthiest Savigniac foundation. Eventually its abbot, Peter, was deposed c.1149-50<sup>5</sup> by Eugenius III, the Cistercian pope. The English houses of the congregation of Savigny then settled into an uneasy affiliation with Cîteaux, although the disagreements continued well into the reign of Henry II.

The Anglo-Norman monasteries, then, were involved in the political upheavals on two levels. Firstly the individual houses were treated to some extent as political and strategic pawns in the complex games of chess played on ground level between Stephen and the Empress. Secondly,

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1. R.H.C. Davis, King Stephen, London, 1967, pp.100 ff.

2. Reg.R. III, 196-7, nos.807-8.

3. Robert de Torigny, Chronicle, ed. L. Delisle, Rouen, 1872 (= Torigny), II, 189.

4. Dugdale, V, 343.

5. D. Knowles, C.N.L.Brooke and V. London, The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216, Cambridge, 1972, p.134.

congregations and orders were involved in high level political intrigues, involving royal influence and royal hubris. Both these aspects of political involvement bring out an attitude to monastic patronage, which the attempts of the reformers had not been able to eradicate. This was the view of monasteries as real estate, as personal property. Stephen upheld his rights as king and patron from a position made perhaps more reactionary through the strength of Cistercian opposition. But he was forced into a nominal capitulation by the increased efficacy of papal power, exercised here in the political as well as the judicial sphere. Thus in 1148, on the rebound, he founded the unaffiliated Cluniac house of Faversham, to be his mausoleum. Clearly his earlier quarrels with his Cluniac brother did not rankle so deeply as his defeat at Cistercian hands.

### 3. Stephen and Monastic Patronage.

Contemporary descriptions of the king are in many ways contradictory, but none stress either piety or generosity towards the church in Stephen. Their reports compare him unfavourably with Henry I. William of Malmesbury saw Stephen as

'a man of energy but little judgement, active in war ..., but although you admired his kindness in promising, you still felt that his words lacked trust and his promise fulfillment.' 1

The Gesta Stephani Regis, written by Robert, Bishop of Bath, his supporter until almost the end of his reign, stresses his wealth, generosity and affability, and suggests, somewhat inaccurately, that

'in awarding ecclesiastical benefices he was complete immune from the sin of simony ..., he bowed with humble reverence to all who were bound by any religious vows'. 2

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1. William of Malmesbury, The Historia Novella, ed. K.R. Potter, NMT, 1955, (= HN), p.16.
  2. Gesta Stephani, ed. K.R. Potter and R.H.C. Davis, OMT, 1976, (forthcoming 2nd edn), and ed. K.R. Potter, NMT, 1953, pp.3, 14.

This writer also admits to his notable lack of the charisma of authority, while the Peterborough monk describes him as: 'a mild man, gentle and good ... In this king's reign there was nothing but disturbance and wickedness and robbery'. This stands in marked contrast with the respect shown towards Henry I and Henry II. Another comment of this writer has become almost an historical cliché;

'they said openly that Christ and his Saints were asleep.  
Such things, too much for us to describe, we suffered nineteen  
long years for our sins.'

This was clearly continuing in the spirit of the chroniclers of the Viking invasions period, and was a priori, moreover, based on local experience. All these accounts written by ecclesiastics emphasise by implication that Stephen's preoccupations were almost entirely terrestrial. Even the Gesta Stephani mentions no donations to the church made on any scale. Modern interpretations of the reign, although almost as contradictory as contemporary writings, again confirm this impression, perhaps somewhat unfairly.<sup>2</sup>

For Stephen, as was expected of a king, showed considerable interest in monastic patronage. He gave safeguards and pensions to many houses, and he was generous to Savigny both before and after his accession to the English throne, and later to Cluny and the Templars. Although the prestige of the crown was under a cloud during his reign, and many small houses were increasingly being founded by the new kind of patron, the lesser noble and the townsman, the king still retained a position of some importance as a patron of the monastic orders, and created a number of religious houses. His motives may have contained a strong political content. H.A. Cronne shows that he enjoyed a considerable personal wealth which he alienated, often somewhat clumsily, to powerful lay and ecclesiastical magnates in

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1. ASC, pp.198-9.

2. eg. Davis and Cronne as above.

return for their support.<sup>1</sup> As with Philip-Augustus the monastic orders thus often benefitted where they were valuable political allies. Family considerations also played an important part. He and his brother Henry of Blois were anxious to promote their relatives - although in Stephen's case this might be interpreted as the typical dynastic aspirations of a usurper. Yet he also, like Henry I, had a genuine and strong regard for those linked to him by ties of blood. He was conscious of holding the lay advocacy of Savigny and its congregation, linked with the county of Mortain and had shown the mother-house much favour as count. This clearly influenced him into making foundations for this group in England. Likewise his wife Matilda favoured the order of Knights Templars. She was the niece of Godfrey de Bouillon, a crusader, and of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, 1100-8. Again, family links with Cluny probably elicited Stephen's moderate generosity to this house, and perhaps the choice of its rule for Faversham, which was, however, also to a great extent an imitation of Henry I's Reading. Certainly the creation of this house as his mausoleum marks also the enshrinement of his affection for his relatives. His charters always speak of his wife and son Eustace, and the three of them were to be buried there. Perhaps these family ties provided an element of stability in personal relationships that he was unable to find elsewhere.

Politico-dynastic considerations thus appear most clearly as motives in Stephen's patronage of the monastic orders. Yet the strong and sustained interest he showed in the Savigniacs in particular indicate a certain degree of interest in spiritual as well as temporal affairs.

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1. Cronne, pp.77-8.



4. Stephen and Savigny, Cluny and Priories and Hospitals.

Stephen was a major benefactor to Savigny. To the mother house, which lay in his county of Mortain, he granted freedom from tolls (1135-43),<sup>1</sup> as well as the routine confirmations of donations. He also founded a house near Montreuil, at Longvilliers. The fragmentary remains indicate that it must have been a sizeable foundation. There is however a lacuna in contemporary evidence which prevents any of its early history from being worked out; its foundation was probably 1133-5.<sup>2</sup> More evidence exists for his English Savigniac foundations.

Furness, Lancs, was the most important of the group. In 1124, as Count of Mortain, he had granted Savigny the vill of Tulketh near Preston, and in 1127 he increased the endowments of the foundation and moved it to Furness, this being confirmed by Henry I.<sup>3</sup> As king, Stephen re-affirmed these grants. In 1136 he gave a full confirmation which shows the extent of the endowments he had made.<sup>4</sup> These were the forest of Furness with hunting rights, and the dominia of Dalton and Ulverston, together with judicial privileges - sake and soke, toll, theam and infangentheof. He also confirmed the donation of Muncaster, free from all services. The abbey had thus been given a considerable amount of land from the honour of Lancaster, which Stephen had himself been given by Henry I. It was officially confirmed to Savigny in c.1138-43.<sup>5</sup> This house was to be very much involved with the politics of the North and it began its career by leading the resistance against Cîteaux in the late 1140s. The style

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1. Reg.R. III, 295, no.801; Brooke, p.142.

2. Gallia, X, 1616.

3. PRO DL/42/III, ff. 1 and 5; VCH, Lancs, II, 113-4; Reg.R. II, 217, nos.1545-6.

4. Reg.R. III, 127-8, no.337.

5. Reg.R. III, 195, no.803.

of the massive remains illustrates the change of custom<sup>to</sup> which it was ultimately subjected. The original Savigniac plan was, like Faversham later, to have rounded apsidal chapels at the east end. Only the crossing and some of the nave had been completed by c.1150, and these had the alternating round and square piers and elaborate decoration typical of the Norman Romanesque style. The church was, however, completed and partly rebuilt with a puritanism typical of the early Cistercians, in a plain and somewhat heavy manner.<sup>1</sup>

Buckfast, Devon, was refounded by Stephen for the congregation of Savigny. A monastery had existed there before the time of Cnut, who had recreated it, and in Domesday Book it appeared to have been generously endowed.<sup>2</sup> In 1136, however, Stephen granted the church to Savigny as an abbey: 'ad ponendum in ea abbatem secundum ordinem suum, et conventum'.<sup>3</sup> Clearly this was a 'foundation' made with little effort on his part.

The third English Savigniac foundation was at Coggeshall, Essex, c.1140-2. Although Stephen may have chosen the order, the site was granted by the queen, as the manor of Coggeshall had belonged to the honour of her father, the Count of Boulogne.<sup>4</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall says that

'facta est abbatia de Cogeshala a rege Stephano et Mathilde consorte sua, qui etiam fundaverunt abbatiam de Furnes, et abbatiam de Lungvillars, et abbatiam de Feversham' ...

The charter from Matilda gives the manor with all its appurtenances, free from tolls, pleas and customs, and with judicial privileges similar to those which Furness received.<sup>5</sup>

Stephen and Matilda thus displayed some considerable generosity

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1. J.C. Dickinson, Furness Abbey, HMSO, 1965.
  2. Dom Stephan, Buckfast Abbey, Buckfast, 1965, p.20; KH, p.116.
  3. Reg.R. III, 294-5, no.800; AN K.23, no.6 (5).
  4. VCH, Essex, II, 125.
  5. Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicon Anglicanum, ed.J.Stephenson, RS no.66, London, 1875, p.11; Reg.R. III, 76, no.207; Dugdale, V, 452.

towards the congregation of Savigny. Furness in particular was by any standards an imposing foundation, and was to become of considerable stature during its subsequent history.

Because of the vicissitudes of his relationship with his brother, Stephen's attitude towards the Cluniacs in general was somewhat variable. In 1136 he commuted Henry I's pension of 100 marks to Cluny for the church of Letcombe Regis, which appears on the Berkshire issues in Henry II's first extant pipe roll, and continued to be paid.<sup>1</sup> He also made gifts to other Cluniac houses, Bermondsey and Reading, for example.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise he showed no special interest in the order until 1148, when he began to create an unaffiliated Cluniac house, on the model of Reading, at Faversham, Kent.<sup>3</sup> The abbey was colonised from Bermondsey<sup>4</sup> and the Oseney annalist said that he endowed it with 'sufficientibus possessionibus'.<sup>5</sup> In the 1155-6 Pipe Roll the house is shown in receipt of £100 bl. in pensions which presumably stemmed from Stephen's original grant.<sup>6</sup> The core of this was the manor of Faversham itself, from which the pension probably came, and Tring in Kent. The first, Stephen had obtained from William of Ypres in return for lands at Lillechurch and Milton, Kent. He gave it, c.1148: 'ad fundandam abbatiam unam ibidem de ordine monachorum Cluniacensium', with free customs, sake and soke etc.<sup>7</sup> Queen Matilda granted Tring (1148-52) again with free customs,<sup>8</sup> and she was buried in the abbey in 1152 after

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1. Reg.R. III, 74-5, no.204; PR 2-4 Henry II, pp.34, 80, 123.

2. Reg.R. III, 35-6, nos.91-8, 249-57, nos.675-96.

3. Kemp, p.17.

4. VCH, Kent, II, 137.

5. Ann. Mon, IV, 24.

6. PR 2-4 Henry II, pp.65, 101, 180.

7. Reg.R. III, 113-4, no. 300.

8. Reg.R. III, 114, no.301.

her death. Stephen died in 1154,

'cuius corpus in monasterio de Faveresham, quod ipse a fundamentis construxerat, traditur sepulturae, ubi paulo ante Matildis uxor eius et Eustachius eorum filius sunt sepulti'. 1

By 1154, the Church was clearly well under way. Recent excavations have revealed the size of this first building,<sup>2</sup> which was on a pretentious scale, with a mortuary chapel eighty feet long. At the east end there were to be three parallel apses, and there were two apsidal chapels on each transept, on the plan of Reading and Cluny III. The cloister was in a curious detached position because of the repositioning of the north transept. This design was clearly archaic by the mid twelfth century, but the intended magnificence is attested to both by the length, and by the remaining fragments of spiral and chevron mouldings. Its elevation may have appeared somewhat similar to Romsey. Two grave pits, containing twelfth-century painted plaster and freestone, have been found at the centre of the eastern arm; presumably these are the graves of Stephen and Matilda. But the house was probably not completed in the twelfth century. Building was resumed c.1225, but by this time it was evident that it was not to enjoy a wealthy and magnificent future. Its pension of £100 p.a., probably granted by Stephen, was cut off in 1208, and the east end was shortened by fifty feet, the west by thirty. The transept chapels were given straight ends. Thus the house did not live up to its earlier promise, for once its pension had gone, its lands, which had not been augmented by other patrons on a large scale, were not sufficient to sustain a first-rate establishment.

A few small priories and hospitals may owe their origins to Stephen. Here he was creating the kind of foundation typical of one important sector

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1. Roger of Wendover, The Flowers of History, ed. H.G. Hewlett, RS no.84, London, 1886-9 (= Wendover), I, 1.
  2. B.J. Philp, Excavations at Faversham, 1965, Kent. Arch.Soc, 1968, see especially pp.35-7; fig.II, 2 for sketch plan.

of growth in the monastic expansion. The advantages of these houses were their flexibility and their inexpensiveness; very often they were refoundations of existing institutions.

One obscure establishment which he may have helped considerably was the hermitage of Redmore (Staffs), which was later to develop into the Cistercian abbey of Stoneleigh (Warks).<sup>1</sup> Here he may have given a grant or confirmation to some monks from Bordesley who wanted to try out the eremitical existence. An example of one of his refoundations was Carrow priory, Norwich, c.1136-7. An existing house of nuns inside the walls of the town, which was perhaps a hospital was granted land valued at twenty-five shillings outside the wall. A new Benedictine priory was then founded. The charter making the grant is dubious and appears as somewhat inflated;<sup>2</sup> perhaps this is to emphasise Stephen's role as the founder. In Henry II's pipe rolls, from the fourth year onwards, a regular pension of 25s. was paid to them, in elemosinis constitutis, from the farm of Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>3</sup> This may be the same grant, although one would expect to find it under the entries in terris datis. The remains of the church are of the mid-twelfth century onwards. The house had become so popular in the early thirteenth century that in 1229 a papal bull was issued regulating the number of nuns.<sup>4</sup> These should have numbered about twelve, making the house no more than a modest foundation.

Another minor institution was created by Stephen for Augustinian canons at Thornholm, Lincs.<sup>5</sup> But this was not to be considered as a royal priory for long, for by 1203, there was clearly some doubt as to who the

1 KH, pp.124-6.

2 Reg.R. III, 226-7, no.615; KH, p.262.

3 PR 2-4 Henry II, p.125.

4 BL Harl. Ch. 43/A/34.

5. KH, p.176; VCH, Lincs, II, 166.

founder had been, Stephen or John Malherbe. Dugdale quotes an inquest made - from the assize rolls - when the jurors swore that

'Stephanus rex prioratum praedictum fundavit, et ibidem posuit canonicos etc. Henricus secundus dedit manerium de Apelbi ... in quo situm est praedictus prioratus, Willelmo de Lungespee fratri suo',

who in his turn gave it to John Malherbe for his services. The patronage also went to John Malherbe, so the institution ceased to be regarded as a royal foundation. Stephen also showed some interest in other priories of canons, for in 1126-7, as Count of Mortain, he had refounded a house at Launceston for Augustinians.<sup>1</sup>

An Augustinian house of equal obscurity, supposedly owing its origins to either Stephen or Henry II, is Ivychurch, Wilts. This may have been on the site of a former minster, near the royal palace of Clarendon, and was used to provide clerici for the royal chapel there. The pipe roll entries, which date from 2 Henry II onwards,<sup>2</sup> grant 45s.7d. to the prior in alms already constituted, which continues throughout the reign. In 1178-9, a new grant is added, and it follows entries concerning building works at Clarendon; 'canonicis de Monte Hederoso pro servicio capelle de Clarendon', xxvii s. per breve regis'.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps these entries throw some light on the foundation. The hundred roll of 1274 suggests that Stephen created the house, and its occurrence on the first extant pipe roll of Henry II, receiving elemosinis constitutis, adds weight to this claim.<sup>4</sup> But some fine carved capitals from the cloister together with a few surviving piers and scalloped capitals on the site, all dating from the later twelfth century, and of fine workmanship, suggest

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1 Dugdale, VI (1), 356; KH, pp.162-3; C. Henderson, Cornish Church Guide, Truro, 1925, p.137.

2 PR 2-4 Henry II, p.57.

3 PR 25 Henry II, p.57.

4 KH, p.161; VCH, Wilts, III, 289.

a rebuilding by Henry II at the same time as he was working on the palace nearby, and when he granted the second pension. Dugdale refers to Henry II as the founder, and this is probably the basis for his assumption.<sup>1</sup>

Stephen is not known to have shown any general interest in charity, but he nevertheless refounded William Rufus' hospital of St.-Peters, York before 1135. This he renamed St.-Leonard's and built a church and buildings sufficient to house more than 60 religious and 200 sick.<sup>2</sup> The sections of the church surviving again show the typical massive mid-twelfth century masonry, with solid piers and scalloped capitals. Stephen gave it generous privileges, including 40s. p.a. from the farm of York, and tithes, mills and tolls at Tickhill, c.1154.<sup>3</sup> This was to be one of the most important hospitals of northern England, with its lands and privileges accumulated from at least three refoundations.

Stephen's wife, Matilda of Boulogne, founded a hospital in London, St.-Katherine's by the Tower, c.1148, as a priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.<sup>4</sup> The charter of confirmation from Stephen mentions as its appurtenances a mill near the tower of London, and £20 p.a. from the returns of Queenshithe.<sup>5</sup> Of these we hear no more, but this may be the 'Queen's hospital' which receives 30s.5d from the Surrey returns after 1158-9.<sup>6</sup> Its royal links were to be continued, for it was to be refounded by Queen Eleanor c.1273.<sup>7</sup>

Queen Matilda seems to have interested herself in the Templars, who were establishing themselves in England in the 1130s and -40s. Her

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1 Dugdale, VI (1), 416; fig.II, 2.

2 Dugdale, VI (2), 606; KH, p.407.

3 Reg.R. III, 365-7, nos.989-994.

4 KH, p.373; Dugdale VI (1), 153.

5 Reg.R. III, 188, no.504; Brooke and Keir, p.334.

6 PR 5 Henry II, p. 55.

7 KH, p.373.

father, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, perhaps set the pattern here. In c.1136 she granted the site of Cowley, Oxford, where an important preceptory was founded.<sup>1</sup> An entry in the 1185 Inquest, a survey of Templars' land, reads

'apud Covele, ex dono Mathildis Regine habentur quattuor hydae, quarum duo sint in dominio, et duo assize ab hominibus'.

Matilda also granted two mills in Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Stephen confirmed this and added easements in the forest of Shotover, and exemption from shires and hundreds.<sup>3</sup> The Empress added free pasturage in 1141, perhaps as an attempt to win over the support of the order.<sup>4</sup>

Matilda gave the Templars several other grants. In c.1137, she donated land in Cottered, Herts, and the manor of Cressing, and c.1140, land in Uphall, Essex. In 1147-8 she granted the manor and half the hundred - but not the church - of Witham, Essex, which was confirmed by Stephen and Eustace, and later given a market.<sup>5</sup> Witham was probably the first preceptory of the order in England; certainly it had first place in the 1180 Inquest.<sup>6</sup> Nothing of the conventual buildings remains, but some fine barns on the site have recently been carbon dated as twelfth century, and from the early period in its settlement.<sup>7</sup>

Stephen probably granted the order the manor of Eagle, Lincs,<sup>8</sup> which was later enlarged by Henry II, to become a hospital for its sick

1 KH, p.295; Dugdale VI (2), 801, 843.

2 ed. B.A. Lees, Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century, London, 1935 (= Lees), pp.41, 43.

3 Reg.R. III, 313, no.851, 313-4, no.852.

4 Le Marquis G. d'Albon, Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple, 1119-1150, Paris, 1913, pp.158-9, no.ccxxxiv.

5 Reg.R. III, 310-12, nos.843-8; KH, p.296; BL Cotton Nero E VI; Lees, p.71.

6. Lees, p.1.

7 Pevsner, Essex, p.153.

8. KH, p. 293.



and aged members. The Lincolnshire issues from 2 Henry II consistently allow the Templars £11 in terris datis in 'Eccles', ie. Eagle.<sup>1</sup> Stephen al confirmed various donations to Temple Dinsley, Herts, including those of the founder Bernard de Bailliol.<sup>2</sup>

This interest in the Templars was to be taken up by Henry II. It is possible that the grants of Henry of the so-called 'Templar's mark', of between one and three marks per shire per annum to the order, appearing from his first extant pipe roll onwards, had their prototypes in grants from Stephen in at least some shires. This is to assume, of course, that some kind of exchequer activity continued even in the later years of Stephen - an assumption shared by many of his own charters. In 1155-6 the 40s in elemosinis constitutis from Essex, for example, stands out from the normal pattern of pensions computed in marks, and this was a county where Stephen and Matilda were generous to the order. It was increased to four marks in 1159-60, to bring it into line with other grants.<sup>3</sup>

Stephen, then, was a generous benefactor to the Templars, the Cluniacs, the Savigniacs. Furness clearly involved him in a very considerable outlay, and to Longvilliers, Coggeshall and perhaps to Buckfast he was moderately generous. These four Savigniac houses were an important contribution to the fortunes of this congregation, and taken with Faversham, St.-Leonard's York, and Stephen's other minor houses, imply that that king had a strong interest in making foundations for the monastic orders. Many of his grants were linked with political interests, and he seems often, like Henry II after him, to have gained a great deal of credit for creating establishments where his financial contributions were relatively small. The most human element to emerge in his patronage was his affection for

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1 PR 2-4 Henry II, p.24; Lees, p.clxxxii.

2 KH, p.295; Reg.R. III, 315-6, nos.856-60.

3 PR 2-4 Henry II, p.24, 6 Henry II, p.10.

his immediate family, which may be seen both in his foundation of Faversham as their mausoleum, and his support of his wife's interest in the Templars. Politics and family considerations thus played an important part in his monastic patronage, but nevertheless his record in terms of the number of houses he created should be reckoned against the view of him as a king whose pre-occupations were wholly secular.

(5) The Monastic Patronage of Empress Matilda

Nicholas de Monte, on an embassy to the Empress on behalf of Becket in 1164, was much struck by her strength of character; 'Mulier de genere tyrannorum est,' he wrote.<sup>1</sup> Arnulf of Lisieux spoke of her as 'a woman who has nothing of the woman in her', probably as a compliment to her 'masculine' spirit.<sup>2</sup> This was joined with an arrogance increased by her upbringing in the German court. She was very much a woman of contradictions. While her widely praised beauty and spirit gained her many loyal and devoted supporters, she alienated many more with haughty, imperious and often ill-judged behaviour. This emerges clearly in her attitude to ecclesiastical government. Like both the English kings and the German emperors she held strong views about royal control of the church. To these she gave expression in 1141, when, as Lady of England, she was prepared to invest one claimant to the see of Durham with ring and staff. This was an action reactionary in the extreme, which neither Henry would have attempted. At the same time she alienated the Londoners by asking for high taxation when a conciliatory gesture would have been in order.<sup>3</sup>

The same contradictions emerge in her attitude towards the monastic houses. Although in England and Normandy she often favoured

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1 ed.J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, RS no.67, London, 1875-85 (= MB), V, 149.

2. Arnulf of Lisieux, Epistolae ad Henricum Secundum et Alios, ed.J.A. Giles, Oxford, 1844, p.41.

3 Cronne, p.46.

monasteries for political ends, and tried to gain support with suitably placed donations in the 1130s and 40s, she also showed considerable interest in their creation and endowment throughout her life. This interest seems to have manifested itself even in her early years. In 1112, she obtained a charter of privileges for St.-Maximin of Trier from the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Since she was still only a child, this was probably at the instigation of her tutor, Bruno of Trier. While still in her teens she was given considerable power in central Italy. In 1115 she was a benefactress to St.-Vitale of Ravenna, and in 1118 'assisted' at the election of Archbishop Philip there.<sup>2</sup> The Germans held her in high respect, and are even reputed to have asked for her return from Normandy where she had gone after the death of her husband. One chronicler called her 'piissima imperatrice Mathildis'.<sup>3</sup> In 1134, in Normandy, when dangerously ill, she gave generously to charity;

'thesauros suos orphanis viduis et reliquis pauperibus  
et maxime ecclesiis et monasteriis, manu sicut larga,  
ita devota, distribuit'.<sup>4</sup>

This gesture she repeated in 1160, and also gave money towards the building of the stone bridge at Rouen, where she was living in 'retirement'.<sup>5</sup> In 1167, on her deathbed, she took the habit of a nun of Fontevrault, and granted the order of Grandmont £300.<sup>6</sup> Both these orders were much favoured by Henry II. Then

'thesauros infinitos pius filius ditribuit ecclesiis,  
monasteriis, leprosis et aliis pauperibus pro anima  
illius'.<sup>7</sup>

She gave her father's foundation, Reading, the hand of Saint James,<sup>8</sup> and

1 A. Wauters, Table Chronologique des Chartres et Diplômes Imprimés, Brussels, 1868, II, 61.

2 The Earl of Onslow, The Empress Maud, London, 1939, p.39; P.Ughelli, Italia Sacra, Venice, 1717, II, 239.

3 MGH, Script, XV (2), p.1014.

4 Torigny, I, 193.

5 Torigny, I, 367-8.

6 The Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vigoeis in P. Labbe, Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum Librorum, Paris, 1657, II, 317.

7 Torigny, II, 367-8.

8 K.Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the hand of Saint James,' EHR. 90. 1975, pp.481-506.

was buried at Le Bec, to which she had on several occasions given gold, silver and precious stones, and which she had, according to Robert of Torigny, honoured above all other houses.<sup>1</sup> In 1134, she had chosen it as her mausoleum, despite the protests of her father, who considered Rouen Cathedral a more suitable resting place for a princess who had been Empress of Germany.<sup>2</sup> Matilda's firmness on the issue was to procure her her wishes, but their fulfillment was to be considerably postponed. This disagreement illustrates both the strong will of the Empress, and the importance she attached to one monastic house. But she was also responsible for the foundation of several Augustinian and Cistercian houses, many of them, dating from the 1150s and -60s, created in conjunction with her son Henry II.

The Augustinian Abbey of Nôtre-Dame-du-Voeu at Cherbourg was a foundation made relatively late in Matilda's life. William the Conqueror had founded an oratory in the town, generously endowed, and staffed by secular canons,<sup>3</sup> and the Empress used this house as the basis for her Victorine abbey. This must have been created in the late 1140s, for a fragmentary charter from this period once in the Manche archives, gave seisin of the land of Beaumont Hogue to the abbot and canons. If the Empress gave a foundation charter, it has been lost, but she and Henry issued a joint one, c.1155-60,<sup>4</sup> which confirmed the foundation and laid down that it should enjoy the same rights as under Henry I, showing the continuity of the institution. The claims of the Empress seem to have outstripped the true extent of her generosity, for later charters of Henry II

1 Torigny, II, 327.

2 J. Duchèsne, Historia Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui, Paris, 1619, pp.305-6,

3 Gallia, XI, inst. 229.

4 H.II, I, 243, no.cxxxv.

refer to 'M. Imperatricis, quae eamdam abbatiam a fundamento edificavit'.<sup>1</sup> The house maintained its links with its royal patrons. In 1165, the abbot, Robert, went on a peace mission for the king to Pope Alexander III.<sup>2</sup> Henry II was also generous in his own right. In 1185 he helped to unite to it the abbey of St.-Helier, Jersey, to which he had previously given lands and privileges,<sup>3</sup> while in the 1180s he granted the churches of Barfleur and Gatteville.<sup>4</sup>

The Empress was thus seen as the foundress of Cherbourg. Torigny wrote 'fecit et monasteria canonicorum, unum juxta Caesaris Burgum et aliud in silva de Gouffer.'<sup>5</sup> To the other house he mentions, Silly, or Nôtre-Dame-de-Gouffern, she gave generous benefactions in the 1150s and 60s, and Henry later added to these.<sup>6</sup> This house was Premonstratensian, and had been founded by Drogo, an Angevin knight, before 1151.<sup>7</sup> Again the Empress had stepped in to become the major patron, and gained much credit. Like her father, Henry I, and like Stephen, she knew how to use existing endowments in refoundations, and she favoured houses of Augustinian canons which were ideal for this purpose.

The group of monks in which Matilda showed the greatest interest was the Cistercians. Several houses in England and Normandy owed their origins to her, and several others to herself and Henry II acting in conjunction. The king's interest in the order seems to date largely from the early years of his reign, and seems to be attributable to a large extent,

1 H.II, II, 416-7, no.dcclxiv.

2 Gallia, XI, 940-4.

3. H.II, II, 267-8, no.dclii; Société Jersiaise, Cartulaire des Iles Normands, Jersey, 1924, pp.307-21.

4 H.II, II, 416-7, no.dcclxiv

5 Torigny, I, 368.

6 Gallia, XI, 758-61; Reg.R. III, 304-5, nos.824-6.

7 BB, VII, 221.

like so much else, to his mother's influence. This, indeed, forms an interesting parallel with Blanche of Castile's influence over Louis IX of France in the same direction.

Why were Matilda and Henry interested in the Cistercians?

Henry I had of course favoured them in the later years of his reign, and they were an order of increasing size and reputation. Political interests also came into these links in the 1130s and -40s. Matilda and Geoffrey found that the grievances of Saint Bernard and the Cistercians made them wholehearted supporters of the Angevin cause against Stephen. But whether the Empress's interest in Cîteaux had become a habit or a conviction, it did not cease in 1154. And before he turned to Grandmont and La Grande-Chartreuse, Henry shared this enthusiasm for the order, and gave generously to it, particularly in the 1150s.

Bordesley was granted its site by the Empress c.1136, but the building of the church and the setting up of the house was clearly effected by Waleran, Count of Meulan, c.1138.<sup>1</sup> Recent excavations have revealed this early house with timber buildings dating from the 1140s, centred on a church of c.1140, which was extended c.1200.<sup>2</sup> The Empress' grandiose claims that she had founded the abbey (1141-2) were obviously exaggerated, and political in origin, but the fiction was maintained by both Henry II and Richard. In a charter of the 1150s, Henry suggested that 'dominam et matrem meam Mathildam Imperatricem et me fundasse abbatiam de Bordesleglia .....'.<sup>3</sup> The pipe rolls record that very generous pensions were paid by the crown, to what it regarded as a royal house. From Staffordshire it received an allowance of £10 for the land of 'Terdebigge',

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1 KH, p.116; Dugdale, V, 407-10; BL Harl. Ch.45/1/30.

2 P. Rahtz, Worcestershire Archeological Newsletter, no.8, Dec.1971, pp.6-7, no.11, Dec.1972, p.7.

3 Dugdale, V, 407-10; BL Cott. Nero C III, f.172, original charter.

which had appeared in Matilda's charters of 1141-2, from 2 Henry II onwards. Likewise it was allowed £14.-12s. from Warwickshire for 'Bediford' and a total of £7 for lands in Worcestershire.<sup>1</sup> Later pipe rolls record additional pensions from the Oxfordshire issues, and new grants by Richard I, John and Henry III.

Another Cistercian house which features on the early pipe rolls of Henry II is Redmore, Staffordshire. From 2 Henry II it was allowed £17.-15s p.a., and in 4 Henry II an extra £10 'de prestito regis' in the manor of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, to which it was moved in 1155.<sup>2</sup> This is the date of Henry II's foundation charter for the house at Stoneleigh, but it was frequently referred to as Redmore in the early pipe rolls. Perhaps this was a question of custom, or perhaps it implies that the move was only gradual. Indeed, the chronology of the earlier history of the institution is somewhat obscure. It is clear that both Stephen and the Empress had a hand in the creation of the house, but the account of this process given in the Stoneleigh Leger Book<sup>3</sup> does not seem to fit in clearly with the extant charters. It suggests that King Stephen refounded a hermitage created by the Empress as a Cistercian abbey in 1140. Yet as Z.N. and C.N.L. Brooke have shown, the foundations did not become Cistercian until c.1153, and this was effected by Henry II as Duke of Normandy, as the diplomatic of his charter indicates.<sup>4</sup> The house, then, was a hermitage until this date and was

1 PR 2-4 Henry II, pp.29, 44, 62.

2 PR 2-4 Henry II, pp.44, 184; KH, pp.124-6.

3 Stratford Unclass. MSS, no.1; ed. R.H. Hilton, The Stoneleigh Leger Book, Dugdale Soc. Publications, vol.24, Oxford, 1960.

4. Z.N. and C.N.L. Brooke, 'Henry II, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine', EHR, 61, 1946, pp.84-6; Hilton, pp.xiii-xxvi; Reg.R. III, 309-10, nos. 840-1; Dugdale, V, 443-7.

probably founded by King Stephen before 1140, from Bordesley. The grant is known from a charter of Bishop Roger of Chester, which confirms it; he was in favour until about 1139<sup>1</sup> and may have helped with the foundation itself. A charter of the Empress predictably makes the same grants as Stephen - land at Canock, and Melsho, and pastures - and seems to date from the 1140s.<sup>2</sup>

Why did the hermitage become a Cistercian monastery? The Leger Book suggests that the hermits were oppressed by royal foresters, and begged the Empress and Henry II to find them a new site. The Empress agreed, provided that they adopted the Cistercian rule. If this story is true, then the Cistercians had clearly fulfilled their part of the bargain (c.1153) before the Angevins (c.1155-6). And again, if it is true, it also indicates the strong interest taken by the Empress in the Cistercian order. If Stephen had indeed founded the hermitage, this change would have come as something of a blow to his hubris, because of his strained relationship with the white monks. Can a hint of malice be detected in all this? The abbey, however, was destined to hold a place of no great importance. Henry held it firmly under royal control, maintaining the lordship of the manor.<sup>3</sup> John granted the soke in 1204, but the local lords clearly did not observe the rights of the monks. Henry III had to restore these in 1266, because 'quaedam iura libertates et consuetudines ad predictam sokam spectantes dispersae sunt et eidem abbate subtractae in grave dampnum et diminucionem elemosine nostre'.<sup>4</sup> Henry's successors thus kept a careful watch on abbeys under royal patronage. This was not, however, a distinguished foundation; its earliest plan and fragments of the mid-twelfth century

1 Leger Book MS f. 7-7b; Hilton, pp.10-11.

2 Reg.R. III, 309, no. 839.

3 Hilton, pp. xvi, f.

4 Leger Book MS ff. 15b, 21; Hilton, pp.22, 30.



buildings indicate a standard Cistercian house.

At about the same time as they were transferring Redmore to Stoneleigh, the Empress and Henry were moving another Cistercian colony from Loxwell to Stanley, Wiltshire (c.1154). This was probably their own foundation. In 1149 Henry granted the former Savigniac house of Quarr - which had supported the Angevin cause during the split in the Order - the manor of Loxwell, Wilts, this having been instigated by Drogo, camerarius of the Empress.<sup>2</sup> Dugdale quotes a register which suggests that it was the Empress who founded the house. In 1150-1 she and Henry together granted to the house of 'Drogonis Fonte' - named after Drogo - the forest of Chippenham and land in lacock valued at 20s, together with three pence a day from the farm of Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> In 1153, Henry confirmed a grant of land in Lambourne, Berks;<sup>4</sup> in 1154 the house was moved to Stanley, near Chippenham, Wilts, and endowed with the estates of Worth in Faringdon, demesne at Thame, and £5 in alms.<sup>5</sup> From the pipe roll 3 Henry II onwards, £32 blanche in Faringdon is granted to the monks of 'Wurda' (ie. Worth), who are clearly the brothers of Stanley.<sup>6</sup> From 1158-9 onwards, they were also receiving 100s. p.a. - perhaps the £5 in alms mentioned from their original site at Loxwell - this time under the title of the monks of Chippenham.<sup>7</sup> Under their original appellation, the monks of 'Fonte Drogonis', they ~~were~~ allowed £7 novo in terris datis from 1155-6.<sup>8</sup> This came from 'Miggehall', Berks, also granted by Henry II when the

1 KH, p.125.

2 Reg.R. III, 247, no.666; Dugdale, V, 563-4.

3. Reg.R. III, 308, no.836; Wilts. RO MSS 4731-4, no.4.

4 Reg.R. III, 308-9, no.837.

5 Dugdale, V, 564; KH, p.125; VCH, Wilts, III, 269.

6 PR 2-4 Henry II, p.81.

7 PR 5 Henry II, p.39

8 PR 2 - 4, Henry II, p.34.

foundation was being set up. No charter for this is extant, but the register of the house indicates it by title, and implies that the donation was made shortly after that of Worth.<sup>1</sup> Henry II also gave a general confirmation at about this time,<sup>2</sup> and in 1156, the church of Eye'lingham.<sup>3</sup> One reason for the number of titles under which the monks were known was clearly their move from one site to the other, but another is perhaps that the name of 'Stanlega' already applied to the Cistercian abbey of Stoneleigh, Warks. Hence the Stanley monks were known in different localities by the names of their estates there, yet a correlation of all the documents makes it clear that all these names refer to the same house.<sup>4</sup>

Thus by about 1160, the house was receiving more than £40 p.a. in pensions. Later in his reign, Henry added grants of quitclaim and other dues,<sup>5</sup> and in the 1180s, again confirmed Worth to the abbey.<sup>6</sup> Richard was to continue royal grants to it; he gave a confirmation in 1189, and in 1198, pasture in the Marlborough area.<sup>7</sup> The church was begun in the mid-twelfth century, soon after the move. The north transept still shows some work of this period, but most of the building was recreated in the court style in the thirteenth century.

The late 1150s marked a peak in the links of Henry and the Empress with the Cistercians. They were generous patrons, but ready to claim extra credit where they could. This is epitomised by Henry's removal of the foundation stone at Varennes (Indre) c.1155, 'quod voluit esse monasterii fundator et custos'.<sup>8</sup>

1 BL Harl. 6716, f.5.

2 BL Harl. 6716, f.5.

3 H.II, I, 105-6, no.x.

4 VCH, Wilts, III, 269.

5 BL Harl. 6716, f.5.

6 H.II, II, 305-6, no.dclxxxii.

7 VCH, Wilts, III, 269-70.

8 Gallia, II, 211.

The Empress was still interested in the white monks in the last two years of her life (1166-7), for this was almost certainly when she created another abbey, La Noë, near Rouen. In her foundation charter she says that she has bought lands for the monastery of La Noë in order that a house should be built there.<sup>1</sup> Henry confirmed this grant, c.1166-73,<sup>2</sup> and later in his reign, granted an exemption from toll.<sup>3</sup> The documentation of the house is scarce for the twelfth century, but by the thirteenth, it was clearly collecting generous grants from local nobles.<sup>4</sup>

The last major excursion of Henry into the affairs of the Cistercians took place in about 1168-70, shortly after his mother's death. In the early 1150s he had granted a protection to the Augustinian house of Baugerais, but according to its register, the rules of Saint Augustine was not followed in a proper manner, and so Henry regranted it to Loroux (Maine-et-Loire), a Cistercian house, for the construction of an abbey there.<sup>5</sup> This was done with the help of the archbishop of Tours, who also granted it privileges, c.1173. The church was built in the unadorned cruciform Cistercian plan and consecrated in 1184. In 1177-8, the king granted the whole order in England exemption from royal amercements and in 1179-80, he gave Clairvaux lead to roof the church.<sup>6</sup> He also granted a number of small pieces of land and money to other houses; Mortemer, Henry I's foundation, received lands, privileges, and perhaps funds towards building the church.<sup>7</sup>

1 Reg.R. III, 223-4, no.607.

2 H.II, I, 546-7, no.cccxix.

3 H.II, II, 335, no.dccx.

4 eg. three charters from 1200-10, BN MS Lat. 2382.

5 H.II, 343-4, no. dccxxi; BN MS Lat. 10044; AD Indre-et-Loire, H. 2-7.

6 ed. C. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, NMT, 1950 (= Dialogus), p.51. H.M. Colvin, A History of the King's Works, The Middle Ages I and II, London, 1963-73 (= Kings Works), I, 90.

7 Gallagher, pp.46, 62-4.

For Henry and Matilda the Cistercians were valuable political allies, but they also represented a strong and positive spirituality. They likewise appreciated the value of the Angevins as patrons. Ailred of Rievaulx, later renowned and revered for his piety, wrote the Geneologia Regum Anglorum, 1152-3, hailing Henry as the cornerstone uniting the Norman and English races.<sup>1</sup> He was a close advisor of Henry and may have persuaded him to support Alexander III as pope.<sup>2</sup> In such ways as these were piety and politics mingled in monastic patronage.

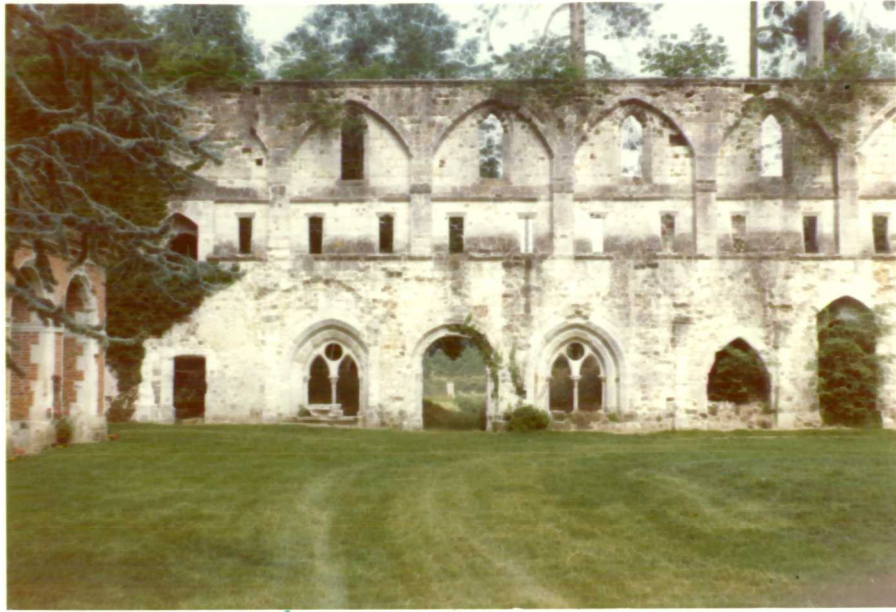
Both Richard and John were to found Cistercian abbeys, but the mid-twelfth century marked the height of the interest of the Angevins in the order.

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1 Walter Daniel, Vita Ailredi, ed. F.M. Powicke, NMT, 1950, p.xlvii.

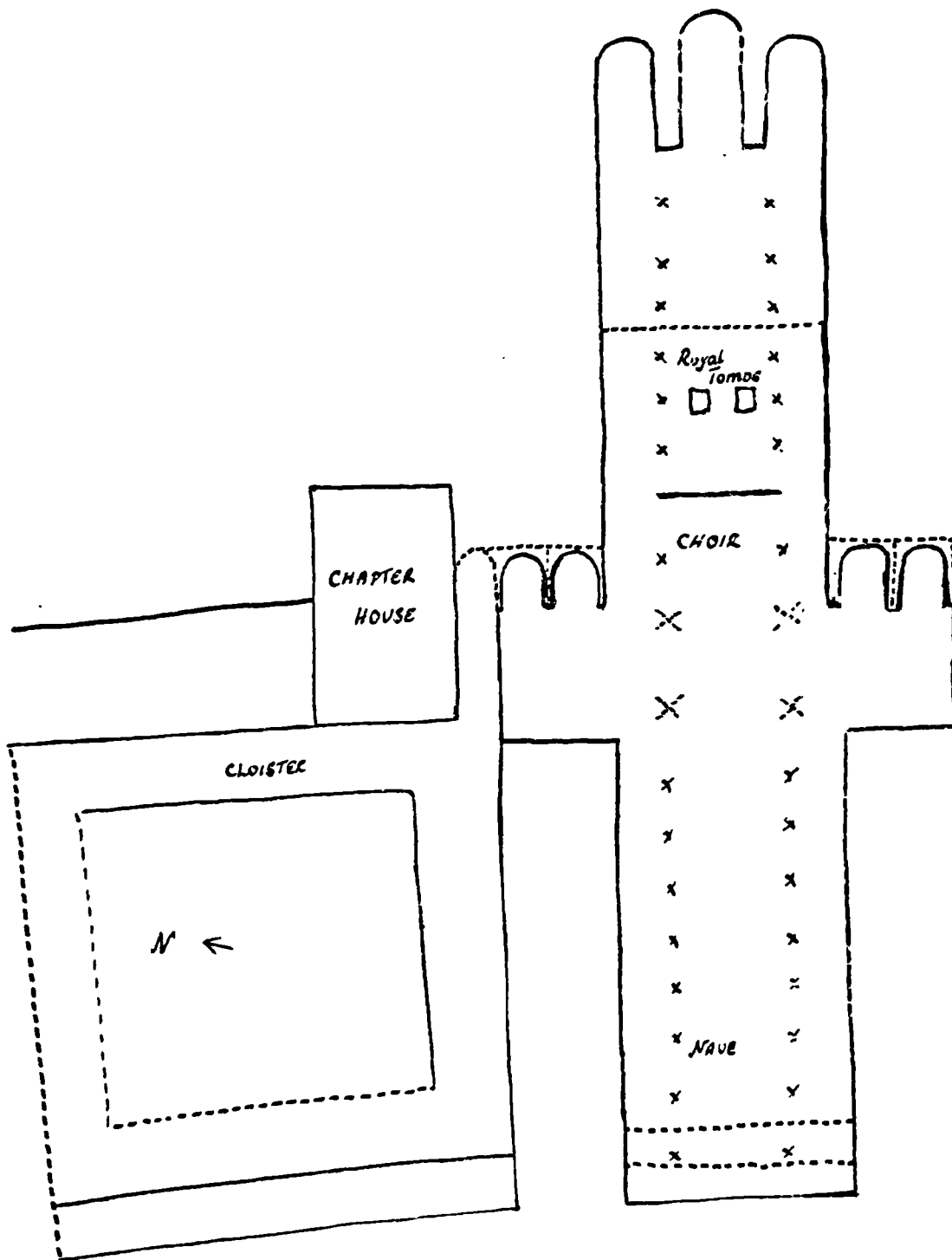
2 A. Squire, Ailred of Rievaulx, London, 1969, p.94.



above: Fig. II, 1.  
Mortemer, Eure,  
claustral buildings,  
c. 1220-30.

right: Fig. II, 2.  
Ivychurch priory,  
Wiltshire, part of  
church, mid-twelfth  
and fifteenth  
centuries.





FAUERSHAM; a sketch-plan.

### Chapter III

#### Henry II, Richard I, John, and the Monastic Orders

##### 1. Henry II, the Church and the Monastic Orders.

As a recent study of Henry II has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> analyses of the religious aspects of his reign (1154-89) always tend to be dominated by the Becket dispute. Gerald of Wales, indeed, began this trend by attributing Henry's defeat at the hands of the king of France and the rebellions of his sons to some kind of divine vengeance for his treatment of the Archbishop.<sup>2</sup> Although recent accounts have abandoned the polemics of the Catholic versus Protestant schools,<sup>3</sup> and have adopted a moderate and psychological approach, the Becket dispute still dominates their estimate of Henry's attitude to religion, which is thus seen very much in political terms. It is certainly true that the controversy was of vital importance in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere, and also that Henry's attitude to the ecclesiastical hierarchy was very much politically biased. Yet every medieval king from William Rufus to Saint Louis mingled different degrees of piety and politics in their dealings with the church. Henry may by many accounts have come closer in attitude to the former, yet an examination of his monastic patronage suggests that he was far from lacking any genuine feeling for, and interest in men of religion.

Most recent interpretations of Henry's attitude towards the church in terms of politics and government suggest that it was primarily one of flexible firmness.<sup>4</sup> The core of the Becket dispute, the king's attempt to remove various anomalies in the borders of lay and ecclesiastical

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1. W.L. Warren, Henry II, London, 1973, (= Warren), p.399.

2. ed.J.S.Brewer, J.F.Dimock and G.F.Warner, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, RS no.21, London, 1861-91 (= Giraldus), VIII, 287-8, 302-3.

3. Catholic historians saw Henry as a violent oppressor and despoiler of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, while royal propagandists from the time of Henry VIII interpreted his predecessor as trying to impose a just control over a hostile church lead by a fanatical and intransigent archbishop.

4. Saltman, pp.153-64; C.R.Cheney, From Becket to Langton, English Church Government, 1170-1213, Manchester, 1956; M.Cheney, 'The compromise of Avranches of 1172 and the spread of canon law in England', EHR, 56, 1941, pp.177-92; Warren, p.428.

jurisdiction, formed part of his programme for the imposition of order through royal justice, and was not motivated from any malice towards the clergy. Becket's appointment, indeed, was intended to facilitate the process, and the problems with the Archbishop pushed Henry into an unreasonable position. Earlier in his reign he had been taking a firm line over issues such as elections and appeals to Rome, and this seems to have suffered very little from the compromise.<sup>1</sup> Despite the apparent victory of the church in the criminous clerks issue under the king's arrangement with the papal legates, the clerks were still arraigned in the royal courts in cases concerning the forest laws. Cases concerning advowsons in practice went sometimes to the spiritual, sometimes to the royal courts. Henry also continued to influence episcopal elections, to administer vacant sees and to supervise any proposed excommunication of his tenants-in-chief.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it necessarily the case that Papal power made vast strides. The apparent growth in the number of Papal decretals coming into England in the 1170s and 1180s may be partly or largely due rather to their survival through the propensity of English clergy for making collections than to a very high proportion of them being directed towards England once the ring-fence of royal control had been breached.<sup>3</sup> As Knowles suggests, Becket seems to have achieved surprisingly little.<sup>4</sup>

Ecclesiastics formed a substantial part of the personnel of Henry's royal government, and in the day to day running of the administration, divisions of church and state were far less important than the financial and social gains to be made from the governance. Yet as well as the royal

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1. cf. R. Foreville, L'Eglise et la Royauté Sous Henry II Plantagenet, Paris, 1943, p.359; she speaks of 'le triomphe posthume de Thomas Becket'.

2. Poole, p.220; Warren, p.546; C.Duggan, 'The significance of the Becket Dispute', Ampleforth Journal, 75, 1970; H.Mayr-Harting, 'Henry II and the Papacy', JEH, 16, 1965, pp.39-53.

3. C.Duggan, Twelfth Century Decretal collections and their importance in English History, London, 1963, pp.140-51, but cf. Z.N.Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy, 1066-1215, Cambridge, 1931, pp.213-4; ed.C.H.Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, London, 1965, pp.109-13.

4. D. Knowles, Thomas Becket, London, 1970 (= TB), pp.154-5.



clerks such as Richard of Ilchester, who were making their careers in the Church through service with the royal court, many ascetic and devout monks and clerics were to be found in Henry's household and as his counsellors. Gerald of Wales wrote:

'Habebat enim in consuetudine episcopos, abbates et viros religionem habitu, praeferentes monachos, Templarios, Hospitalarios, fratres de Grandi Monte, ad colloquia sua circumducere, magisque ipsorum quam militum suorum consiliis uti etiam circa martia negotia consueverat.' <sup>1</sup>

The author of the Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis wrote that 'his love of men with a reputation of holiness, a grace he had received from God, is well known'.<sup>2</sup> There are also some indications that he valued the power of intercession of these holy men very greatly. One account in the Grandmontine annals tells of how he showed no fear in a storm at sea because he knew the order was praying for him. In Magna Vita he consigns himself to Hugh's intercessory powers in a similar situation, and the sea at once becomes calm.<sup>3</sup> Such men as these were hardly selected to carry out governmental duties. The Gilbertines helped Becket to escape from England in 1164, showing a violent opposition to his policies. The Grandmontines, after serious attempts to act as intermediaries, seem to have rebuked him outspokenly for causing the death of the archbishop, a dangerous path but made smoother by Henry's undoubted affection for them.<sup>4</sup>

Yet Henry's attitude to spiritual affairs was mixed, for he was liable to considerable displays of irreverence at times. He was inattentive at mass, he kept a mistress openly in later life and swore 'per oculos Dei'. He was wont to jest with Walter Map on such topics as the Cistercians.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Giraldus, VIII, 255-6.

2. Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, ed. H. Farmer and D. Douie, London, 1961, (= MV), I, 70.

3. MV, I, 73-4; J. Levèsque, Annales Ordinis Grandimontis, Trier, 1662, p.112; Grandmont, p.165.

4. R. Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines, London, 1903 (= Graham), pp.17-19.

5. Giraldus, IV, 215, 219-20; VIII, 165-6.

None of these attributes would have shocked the majority of his contemporaries as much as the more devout clergy, yet his affection for Saint Hugh, Saint Gilbert of Sempringham and Saint Ailred of Rievaulx was widely attested. As Knowles says:

'without a semblance of spiritual religion, Henry II, for all his moral lapses and other faults, never lost the sense that God and the Church of Christ were of a higher order of being than his own affairs'. 1

A pragmatic approach underlay Henry's attitude to the monastic orders as a whole. The foundations he made were normally created largely at the expense of others. He would 'buy' or 'exchange' land, normally from existing ecclesiastical institutions, and at a price greatly to his own advantage, as at Witham, or Bois-Rahier. Otherwise he would refound existing houses, creating a great display for a relatively low expenditure as at Waltham and Amesbury. Most of his foundations were for orders whose modest requirements made a small benefaction assume great importance, although perhaps this view of his interest in ascetics should not be over-emphasised. The side of his patronage most valuable to the monastic orders was the privileges he gave. These cost the exchequer relatively little, and the beneficiary could find them of great value. In this sense Henry, typically, was parting with as little as possible. Yet in many ways he was acting in a very prudent manner in following this line. Much of the royal domain had been alienated by Stephen, and for the first decade of his reign, Henry was struggling to regain crown lands. In his continental possessions, the troubled situation following the over-running of Normandy from Anjou, and the inherent anarchy of Aquitaine, had weakened ducal comital control. Lands were a vital factor in the politics of domination, and to alienate a large tract meant a weakening of control on a local level. The church already held a high proportion of land, but to re-use or to exchange lands

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1. TB, p.37.

already in his possession meant that the domain remained at a roughly constant level vis-à-vis ecclesiastical holdings. Yet at the same time monastic orders benefitted. Henry could sometimes take from Peter to give to Paul in too obvious a manner, as in the case of the Winchester bible which he had removed from the monks to give to his foundation of Witham, and which was returned to its former owners by the outraged prior, Saint Hugh.<sup>1</sup> Lands could, however, be more easily taken over. The story of the foundation of the Grandmontine cella of Bercey parallels the early difficulties of Carthusian Witham, for this house had actually been sited on lands of which only one-third belonged to the king. In 1168, Guillaume de Passavant, Bishop of Le Mans, and the chapter, granted the other two-thirds, which belonged to the see, to Brother Bernard, leader of the community and to Grandmont, in response to a humble request from the brethren. They had, indeed, already been installed upon the land.<sup>2</sup> Once his foundations had been begun, Henry could be careless about their completion, but he would grant them privileges and pensions on a scale far more generous than his endowments of land.

Apart from royal foundations and refoundations which were often made with the help of others, were other monasteries which Henry claimed to have founded or which he annexed from other founders. At Godstow he took over the patronage from Bernard of St. Valéry, and refounded and rebuilt the house as a royal abbey around the shrine of his mistress, Rosamund Clifford, who had been buried here shortly before the house came into royal hands. Howden wrote that he conferred many benefits upon the house for her sake, and about £70 was allowed from the county issues for the building works after her death in 1176; more followed in the 1180s.<sup>3</sup> At Bicknacre, the

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1. MV, I, 84-7; many houses mentioned here are discussed further in the course of Chapter III.

2. V. Alouis, 'Lucé et ses environs', Revue Arch. et Hist. du Maine, 9, 1881, p.290; Grandmont, pp.176-7.

3. The Chronicle of Roger Howden, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. No.51, London, 1868-71, (= Howden), III, 167-8; Kings Works, I, 90; Dugdale, IV, 358.

founder, Maurice Fitz-Geoffrey, was pardoned a considerable sum of money which he owed as sheriff from the Essex issues in return for the patronage of the monastery which became a royal foundation.<sup>1</sup> Buckland, Somerset, fell into royal hands and was refounded for the Hospitallers.<sup>2</sup> Henry also claimed that Varennes was a royal house having merely laid the foundation stone.<sup>3</sup>

To gain or to claim royal connections could of course be advantageous to the monastic house as a ground for royal protection. Henry used the same methods as his predecessors in creating links with monasteries, and in refounding them and re-using ecclesiastical lands. But necessity and the wise conservation of royal lands and resources meant that his claims to being a generous patron were based on smaller grants. Some of his gifts appear paltry in the extreme. Giraldus Cambrensis accused him, for example, of a lack of open-handedness in fulfilling the terms of his penance for the death of Becket, settled at Avranches in 1172.<sup>4</sup> According both to Gerald and to Ralph Niger, Henry, instead of leading a crusade in person and maintaining 200 knights in Palestine for a year, gained a papal commutation to encompass the founding of three monasteries. Ralph Niger merely accuses Henry of replacing one order with another and moving people 'de loco ad locum', but Gerald identifies the houses. These, he says, were Waltham, where he forced holy secular canons out and replaced them with regulars - the Gesta Henrici agrees that Waltham was founded in memory of Becket but indicated a certain degree of corruption amongst the canons<sup>5</sup> - Amesbury, where he

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1. VCH, Essex, II, 144.

2. VCH, Somt. II, 148.

3. Gallia, II, 211.

4. MB, VII, 517; Giraldus, VIII, 170-1.

5. The Chronicles of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, RS no. 49, London, 1867. (= Gesta Henrici), I, 134-5; The Chronicles of Ralph Niger, ed. R. Anstruther, London, 1851, p. 168; below, pp. 115-8.

violently thrust in Fontevraldine nuns to an existing foundation - no mention is made of the undoubted laxity of the nuns, and Witham, where a group of patient and holy men humbly bore hardship and the lack of a roof over head. God, he adds, however, will not be deceived: 'sed quid attinet humana versutia contra divina consilia?'.<sup>1</sup> John T. Appleby, in a discussion of these foundations agrees with Gerald and concludes that 'it is difficult to see that Henry's expenditures on his religious foundations can be called generous by any standard'.<sup>2</sup> It is true that Henry re-used existing ecclesiastical foundations in two of his cases, Waltham and Amesbury, and was not conspicuously generous in grants of land and revenues to any of the three. He was not, however, departing radically in this from the practices of Henry I and Stephen; Reading and Buckfast, for example, had been created in a similar way. Furthermore, neither the terms of the commuted penance nor their fulfillment are explained clearly by Gerald or by Ralph, who appear to be the only source for the story. Gerald is not willing to identify Witham as the third house with any degree of certainty, perhaps because of the high reputation it enjoyed in ecclesiastical circles,<sup>3</sup> and he may have emphasised Waltham and Amesbury in this context because of the considerable wealth they had enjoyed before their refoundation, which could be used to diminish the importance of Henry's rôle there. He may have been aware of but certainly does not mention the other houses founded by Henry in the later 1170s and early 1180s. Carthusian Le Liget<sup>4</sup> may have been part of a larger scheme of foundations, as may the hospitals at Angers, Le Mans and

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1. Giraldus, VIII, 170-1.

2. John T. Appleby, 'The ecclesiastical foundations of Henry II', Catholic Historical Review, 48, 1962-3, pp. 205-15.

3. Giraldus, VIII, 170-1.

4. Below, pp. 109-111.

Caen, all c.1177-82.<sup>1</sup> Both Carthusian and Grandmontine traditions also assign certain small houses, including Grandmontine Villiers, to a part of his penance,<sup>2</sup> and the Gallia Christiana suggests that the Cistercian abbey of La Trappe in Normandy received from Henry 'terram de Meheru ob interfectum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum' before 1173. No documentary evidence, however, is provided, and the surviving charter makes no reference to the archbishop.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the military order of St.-Thomas of Acon represents the knights which Henry was intended, by the terms of his original penance, to maintain for a year in the Holy Land. The dedication in this case would be interesting, but the early history of the order is highly obscure, and may equally well have been founded by William, chaplain of Ralph of Diceto.<sup>4</sup>

An additional problem in ascertaining whether the monasteries were founded in Becket's memory is that nowhere in their history is any reference found to Becket himself. Apart from a tenuous link at the hospital at Caen and at Waltham,<sup>5</sup> the only exception to this rule is St.-Thomas', Dublin, c.1177. This was founded for the king by his justiciar, and must surely be explained with its dedication to Becket, by the remoteness of Ireland from the rest of the Angevin Empire.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, for Henry to participate in the cult of the archbishop would have been good neither for

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1. below, pp.122-3.

2. Notes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Touraine, Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1217, f.64; Grandmont, p.177.

3. Gallia, XI, 748; le Comte de Charencey, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, Alençon, 1889, p.376.

4. Brooke and Keir, pp.334-5; cf. KH, p.372; J.Watney, Some Account of the Hospital of St.-Thomas of Acon, London, 1892, pp.1-3.

5. Gesta Henrici, I, 134-5.

6. below, pp. 118-9.

the royal reputation nor for royal hubris. This may be one reason why the penance itself remains so obscure. Yet Henry founded the majority of his monastic houses in the 1170s. Perhaps they were indeed intended to make amends, perhaps only to re-establish good relations and a good reputation with the church. Certainly their closeness in time explains the scant attention paid to many of them; taken as a whole, however, and with the other houses the king founded, they give him some claims to be considered as a patron of the monastic orders who was generous within his means and in the pattern of his predecessors. Certainly they compare well, in numbers at least, with the records of both Louis VII and, particularly, Philip-Augustus of France. The manner of Henry's patronage, however, was not lavish, and it was indicative of his general attitude to the church and to government. In spirit of some respect and understanding for spirituality, which led him to found monastic houses, he was motivated largely by political pragmatism, which prevented him from allowing them to become either too wealthy or too powerful at his expense.

The proportion of royal income from the county issues allowed in pensions and grants to the monastic orders was, however, at its highest in the 1180s and 1190s. Perhaps again this was a recompense to the church for Becket's death; certainly the value of some of the pensions shows Henry as a generous patron.<sup>1</sup> Fontevrault, for example, received £100 Angevin from the 1170s from Angers and Loudun,<sup>2</sup> while Reading, Henry I's foundation, was granted in addition to its £56 and £25 from Berkshire, an extra £13.6s.8d from Kent after its consecration in 1164.<sup>3</sup> Henry II's foundation for the sick at Quévilly received £200 Angevin for food and clothing each year from the <sup>late</sup> 1180s.<sup>4</sup> The canons of Ste-Barbe-en-Auge

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1. Table I, 5.

2. H.II, II, 157-8, no. dlxxxi.

3. PR 12 Henry II, p.111.

4. H.II, II, 297, no.dclxxviii, below p. 122.

were allowed £30 from Gloucestershire,<sup>1</sup> while Jumièges received at least £44pa from the Norman issues, and St.-Imer, a priory of Le Bec-Hellouin £55.<sup>2</sup> Several orders - the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Cistercians, Fontevraldines and Gilbertines - were granted freedom from amercements.<sup>3</sup> Many also, were Henry's gifts of fairs, tolls, assarts, and judicial privileges. Most of the abbeys and priories in his lands were in addition given safeguards and confirmation charters.

Henry seems to have taken seriously the royal rôle as defender of the Church, where the churches involved were directly under the crown. Dr John Lally suggests that with ancient abbeys in the royal patronage he was a dedicated and paternal patron.<sup>4</sup> By affirming the privileges of Battle in 1157 against the bishop of Chichester, he was enhancing its status as a royal foundation and at the same time his own dignity. He also upheld the rights of St.-Albans against the bishop of Lincoln. The Gesta Abbatum, written much later,<sup>by Matthew Paris</sup> describes his reaction to the pope's orders to the abbot to appear before a papal commission: 'credidit hoc procuratorem esse ab ipso abbate. Unde magnam Rex contra Abbatem concepit indignationem'. This did not, however, prejudice the decision he made in favour of the house.<sup>5</sup> He also intervened in the internal discipline of several houses. The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond describes how the king made an investigation at Bury St.-Edmunds: 'and R. the almoner of our lord the king came and made it known to the abbot that a rumour had

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1. PR 8 Henry II, pp.59-60.

2. Stapleton, I, 7, 40, 82.

3. Dialogus, p.51.

4. J. Lally, The Court and Household of King Henry II, 1154-89, University of Liverpool Ph.D. thesis, 1969, chapter VIII.

5. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, RS no. 28/4, London, 1867, I, 143-7.



reached the king concerning their great debts'. The monks managed to produce a satisfactory report and so no action was taken.<sup>1</sup> The moves in the refoundation of Amesbury could be seen in the same light,<sup>2</sup> although motives of self-interest were evidently also at work here.

Some monastic communities, however, received hostile treatment from his hands for political reasons. The monks of Christ-Church, Canterbury, were harassed during Becket's exile, and even later in the reign never succeeded in regaining the royal pleasure. In 1189 a group begged the king to alleviate the miseries of their house which was suffering because Archbishop Baldwin intended to set up a college of secular canons as the metropolitan chapter. The king gave them no help and they reciprocated with dire warnings; shortly afterwards he died and Gervase of Centerbury suggested that their prognostications and Becket's prophecies had been fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> No material assistance was given by the king towards the rebuilding of the cathedral. Louis VII showed more interest than Henry,<sup>4</sup> whose only important grants were of wine from Normandy, and exemption from geld and danegeld.<sup>5</sup> Nor was another great building operation of the end of the reign, the lady chapel and west end of Glastonbury abbey, destroyed by fire in 1184, given royal aid - at least on pipe roll and charter evidence, despite the later assertions of Adam of Domerham about Henry's generosity.<sup>6</sup> These were presumably based on a highly suspect charter of Henry II, dated 1184, and promising to give aid to Glastonbury - which was vacant and administered

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1. The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed.H.E.Butler, NMT, 1949, pp.3-4.

2. below, pp.104-6.

3. Gervase of Canterbury, Chronicle, ed. W. Stubbs, RS no.73, London, 1879-80 (= Gervase), I, 448-9.

4. Gervase, I, 293.

5. Stapleton, I, 71; Dugdale, I, 105.

6. Chronica --- de rebus Glastoniensis by Adam of Domerham, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1727, II, 334.

by the king until 1189.<sup>1</sup> The text is clearly incorrect, and some witnesses do not tally with one another. Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, for example, died before the patriarch Heraclius arrived in England, yet both appear on the charter. Another suggestion concerning the house, but without much evidence to back it up, came from Gerald of Wales. This was that the monks 'found' King Arthur on the prompting of Henry, who had heard about his burial there from ancient British poetry.<sup>2</sup> It might seem that this would be excellent propaganda for the king. Yet the exhumation did not take place until 1191, and although it was clearly useful for Richard I it was even more so for the monks. It was the remains of King Arthur, together with Saint Dunstan and Saint Oswald's arm, which enabled the church to be rebuilt, rather than royal aid. They were also a valuable counter in the antiquity competition with Westminster Abbey, but the monks of Glastonbury were later anxious to claim royal connections, and so Henry managed, as frequently happened, to derive much posthumous credit for the exhumation and the rebuilding there.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Henry II and the Orders of Fontevrault, Sempringham and La Grande Chartreuse

Certain groups of ascetics, including the monks and nuns of Fontevrault, Sempringham and La Grande-Chartreuse were favoured conspicuously by Henry. His interest in Grandmont is related to these, but because of the problems involved in making a study of that order, it is discussed separately.<sup>4</sup> The strict way of life of these orders undoubtedly drew them to Henry, and sometimes this was allied with family links. Fontevrault,

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1. Dugdale, I, 4-5.

2. Giraldus, VIII, 127-8.

3. Brooke and Keir, p.295.

4. See Grandmont, enclosed offprint.

mother-house of an ascetic and aristocratic congregation of nuns had been under the protection of the counts of Anjou, especially Fulk V, and had also been endowed by the dukes of Aquitaine, particularly William IX, and also by Henry I of England.<sup>1</sup> Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine were to continue these links, and both were to be buried there, as was Richard I. The Empress Matilda had been clothed in the habit of a Fontevraldine nun before her death in 1167.

Soon after he became count of Anjou, Henry began to confirm grants of houses in Saumur, made to Fontevrault by his father, and in 1154 re-iterated all gifts made by the counts of Anjou to the house.<sup>2</sup> He was himself most generous with lands and rights. In 1165 he allowed the sisters freedom from contributions towards military aid,<sup>3</sup> and during the 1160s granted one of many safeguards, this example for the lands and rights at Roches.<sup>4</sup> In c.1173 and 1182 he confirmed various revenues from Saumur,<sup>5</sup> while a very full and valuable statement was made in 1172-7, of the lands at Pont-de-Cé and the customs of Brissac, an important part of the abbey's economy.<sup>6</sup> Other grants of revenues were made to the abbey. In 1172-82, Henry gave £100 rent from Angers and Loudun, and in 1185, Eleanor granted £100 from Poitiers and added £10 from Oléron in c.1200.<sup>7</sup> In 1156-73, Henry made over his rights and possessions of the island of Chozé, and lands for use as meadows to Fontevrault.<sup>8</sup> He may also have rebuilt the chapels of St.-Lazare and La Madeleine there.<sup>9</sup>

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1. T.S.R. Boase, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets', JBAA, 3rd ser. vol.34, 1971, pp.1-11.

2. H.II. I, 37-8, no.xxx\*, I, 83-4, no.lxxvii\*.

3. H.II, I, 390-1, no.ccxliv.

4. H.II, I, 554-5, no.ccccxiv.

5. H. II, II, 5-6, no.cccclvii; II, 221-2, no. dcxiii.

6. H. II, II, 53-7, no.diii.

7. H. II, II, 157-8, no.dlxxiii; ed.J.H. Round, Calendar of Documents preserved in France, I, 918-1206, London, 1899 (= CDF), p.381, no.1080, p.394, no.1108.

8. H. II, I, 489, no.cccxlviii; I, 499, no. ccclxi.

9. R.Crozet, 'Textes et documents relatifs à l'histoire des arts en Poitou', Archives Historiques du Poitou, 53, 1942, p.50, no.194.

Henry made some grants of lands to Fontevrault for the foundation of priories in England. Amesbury was the most important of these, and according to Gerald of Wales, this was as part of his penance for Becket's death.<sup>1</sup> The king used an existing well-endowed house with a reputation for laxity as the basis of his foundation. Amesbury had been created c.978 by Queen Alfrida as a penance, and had rapidly become exceedingly wealthy and aristocratic, with a great interest in learning.<sup>2</sup> But after the conquest it had run into financial difficulties and gained a reputation for luxury and laxity. Furthermore, in the 1150s, the abbess, angry at an unfavourable judgement in a lawsuit against the bishop of Salisbury, had had the church in dispute seized against the king's will and incurred his anger.<sup>3</sup> In 1177 two bishops, Bartholomew of Exeter and Roger of Worcester, were sent by Henry to make a visitation of the nunnery. They found that the abbess and nuns were living in a scandalous condition; the abbess had produced three children since she had taken the veil. By a papal mandate they expelled her and cast out the nuns.<sup>4</sup> The king gave the abbess a pension of 10 marks p.a. from Hampshire, which she received until 1183- presumably the year of her death. Some of the nuns were allowed a lesser amount, the rest remained in the new foundation. Unlike Waltham, which was merely lax, this house does seem to have reached a considerable degree of corruption and slackness in its way of life. The testimonies of Roger and Bartholomew who were experienced papal judge-delegates and canon lawyers is valuable here, and it seems that Henry's intervention was justified.

In August, 1177, Henry with a group of bishops instituted 24 nuns from Fontevrault, who had come from Anjou under their former sub-prioress, Joanna de Gennes.<sup>5</sup> Other nuns were recruited from Westwood, Worcestershire,

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1. Giraldus, VIII, 169-70.

2. KH, pp.104-5; VCH, Wilts, III, 242-3.

3. Saltman, pp.162-3.

4. Gesta Henrici, I, 135-6.

5. Gesta Henrici, I, 165.

founded by Osbert Fitz-Hugh and confirmed by Henry II (c.1155-8).<sup>1</sup> The pipe roll of 23 Henry II records the expense of bringing some of the nuns to Amesbury - 10 marks and 63s.6d. for part of the passage of the sisters of Fontevrault are allowed for.<sup>2</sup>

Henry's 'foundation' charter for Amesbury<sup>3</sup> confirms to the house its manors and the church of Letcombe Regis, and grants de novo the church of Nether Wallop, Hants. The pipe rolls after 1177 show £37 being allowed to the nuns for it.<sup>4</sup> The king also confirmed the possessions of the house and granted freedom from tolls and wide judicial and fiscal privileges, while in 1178-9 he added revenues from the mill of Shelverley.<sup>5</sup> In 1189, Henry gave Amesbury, Nuneaton and Westwood to Fontevrault, and both this and the foundation charter were frequently confirmed by subsequent kings. By this time, building works at the house were completed; indeed the nuns were in full occupation of the new buildings by 1186.<sup>6</sup> The pipe rolls record that a total of about £880 was spent by Henry. A local layman, Geoffrey de Pourton, supervised the operation with the help of the archdeacon of Wiltshire. In 1178-9, £107.18s.2d was allowed; in 1183-4, £38.10s for lead from Shrewsbury; in 1184-5, wood from Sussex at 76s.<sup>7</sup> But the house was not completely reconstructed; the church still retains parts of its Anglo-Saxon fabric, and the conventual buildings were probably only modified. The parts of the church which the king rebuilt show style and care; the crossing with characteristic rib-vaults and stiff-leaf clearly dates from this time. Yet for a major refoundation £880 was hardly an exorbitant

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1. H. II, I, 175-6, no.lxxiii; KH, p.105.

2. PR 23 Henry II, pp.166, 177.

3. H.II, II, 113-6, no.dxxxix.

4. PR 23 Henry II, p.166, PR 24 Henry II, p.106; VCH, Wilts, III, 244.

5. VCH, Wilts, III, 244.

6. Gesta Henrici, I, 354.

7. PR 25 Henry II, p.57, 28 Henry II, p.21, 29 Henry II, p.104;  
King's Works, I, 88.

expenditure. As at Waltham it shows a shrewd sense of economy, a desire to create lavish houses at a relatively minimal expense.

Henry made over the manor of Grovebury, or Leighton, Bedfordshire, to Fontevrault in 1164. It is in this year that grants of £48.8s. begin to be allowed, according to the pipe roll.<sup>1</sup> In c.1189, a cell was established here.<sup>2</sup> Henry was thus generous to the Fontevraldines throughout his empire; his ultimate burial there, although not perhaps his own choice, shows something of the strength of his association with the order.<sup>3</sup>

In the Speculum Ecclesiae Gerald of Wales wrote:

'perfectus igitur originaliter ordo videbatur Cisterciensis, perfectior autem quoad aliquid Grandimontanus, perfectissimus autem omnium quantum ad humanum spectat examen Cartusiensis'.<sup>4</sup>

The Carthusian Order was one of the most severe in its customs, which were based on the ideal of hermits living in community. The statutes of the order provided a powerful guide both for the way of life of the monks and for their government, and it was never to suffer either from the internal disputes or from the slackening of observance which tarnished the reputation of other ascetic orders such as the Cistercians, the Gilbertines and Grandmont.

It seems that Henry's first contact with the Carthusians was a letter sent in 1165 by the prior of La Grande-Chartreuse begging Henry to cease in his oppression of the church: 'Divulgatum est ab oriente usque in occidentem quod ecclesias regni vestri intolerabiliter affligitis' ....<sup>5</sup> This was probably on the urging of the exiled John of Salisbury, who was in close contact with Carthusian priory of Val-St.-Pierre, Soissons, and who had asked the order both to remonstrate and to intercede for him.<sup>6</sup>

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1. PR 10 Henry II, p.30, 11 Henry II, p.22; H.II, I, 385-6, no.cxxxviii.

2. VCH, Beds, I, 403; KH, p.105.

3. below, pp.315-6.

4. Giraldus, IV, 259.

5. MB, VI, 166.

6. E.M. Thompson, The Carthusian Order in England, London, 1930 (= Thompson), pp.49-50.

Pope Alexander III chose Carthusians among the envoys sent to negotiate with Henry; the Grand Prior and the bishop of Bellay, a former priory, for example, went in 1168.<sup>1</sup> The traditions that Henry's two Carthusian foundations, Witham and Le Liget, were made as a penance for Becket's death, thus seems a likely one - although the archbishop is not mentioned in any of the early documents of either house the writings of the order maintain strongly that this was the case.<sup>2</sup> The account of the foundation of Witham, Somerset, emerges more clearly than that of Le Liget because of the account in the Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, written after Saint Hugh's death during the reign of John, and the fragmentary Early Chronicle of Witham.<sup>3</sup> The Magna Vita gives a lively account of Henry's relationship with Saint Hugh, and Hugh's problems in putting Witham on its feet; the stories were based on those which Hugh himself had told his biographer, Adam of Eynsham, who was his chaplain during the last years of his life, and probably contain a considerable degree of truth.<sup>4</sup>

As at Waltham and Amesbury the foundation at Witham seems to have been carried out somewhat grudgingly. The first monks arrived from La Grande-Chartreuse in 1179, headed by Norbert. They were, typically, granted lands held partly by the canons of Bruton, and partly by the Malet family. In exchange the canons were given lands in North Petherton, and the Malets, lands in North Curry - although not until 1181-2.<sup>5</sup> According to an assize roll the king also declared in the boroughs of Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire, that if anyone else had owned land he had used for the

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1. Thompson, p.50; MB, VI, 395-6.

2. J. le Coulteaux, Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis, Montreux, 1887-91 (= le Coulteaux), II, 449-52.

3. E.M. Thompson, 'A fragment of the Witham Charterhouse Chronicle', BJRL, 16, 1932, (= WCC), p.499.

4. eg. MV, I, 95-119; cf. GME, pp.330-1, 347-8.

5. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, ed. W.H.D. Bird, Hist. MSS Comm. London, 1907, I, 352-3; VCH, Somt. II, 123.

foundation, he should come forward within two years to receive compensation. Yet little practical action backed up his schemes. Within the space of a year, two priors went home: 'dismayed by unfamiliar food and the habits of a foreign people'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, when Hugh arrived in 1180 as the third prior, the former inhabitants were still living at Witham and the bretheren were housed in:

'cells made of stakes surrounded by a narrow ditch and a stockade ... They lacked almost anything essential for the modest requirements of their order. It was not yet decided where the greater church, with the cells and cloister for the monks, or the smaller one, ... could best be erected'. 2

Hugh, according to his biographer, managed to resolve these difficulties by persuading the king to grant the peasants either land on another manor or freedom from villeinage. They were also to receive adequate compensation for their lands, homes and goods. This was given grudgingly by the king. Hugh, however, then allowed them to keep the possessions on which this had been paid as well as the money.<sup>3</sup> He had also to extract sufficient funds for the creation of suitable conventual buildings, which was accomplished only with great difficulty. Adam suggests that he had almost completed the building by 1186 when he became bishop of Lincoln. But this seems unlikely, for the Early Chronicle says that even during Hugh's episcopate:

'eodem tempore conventus in loco minori (= the lower house) morebatur eo quod locus maior nondum perfectus esset, ne proinde dedicatus'. 4

This seems probable because the stories about the paucity of funds forthcoming from the crown are amply backed up by the references to Witham in the pipe rolls. The house, apart from larger sums given in the early 1180s, received an average of about £50 p.a. including a £10 pension which began in 26 Henry II (1179-80). Apart from this, payments ceased in

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1. MV, I, 47.

2. MV, I, 61.

3. MV, I, 62-3.

4. WCC, p.499.



1188, and the total expenditure was little over £600 including the pensions.<sup>1</sup> This is hardly a princely sum, and, nor was the foundation charter c.1182, outstandingly generous. The king granted the lands at Witham itself, free from all service, and a sheep-run on the Mendip hills.<sup>2</sup> He also declared that the house was of royal alms. It was, indeed, to bring considerable renown to the crown. The existing parish church marks the remains of the lower house, built in the time of Saint Hugh. There are three bays of the original chapel still extant, with quadripartite vaults in style quite out of keeping with late twelfth-century Somerset churches and which probably owes something to French influence. The upper house was built later and was, as was customary, one mile away from the lay-brothers' quarters. Recent excavations have revealed buildings very similar in plan to those at Hinton Charterhouse, a few miles away, which was colonised from Witham in the early thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The royal monastery at Witham soon acquired a reputation for sanctity in spite of its lack of funds. With its close connections with the crown and the eminence of certain men - Adam of Dryburgh and Robert, prior of St.-Swithun's, Winchester - who became monks here, and with its maintenance of the high standards of the Carthusian rules, it shed lustre on the crown without incurring due expense.

Local tradition in the Loches area maintains that Henry's other 'Chartreuse', Le Liget, Indre-et-Loire, was also founded in penance for Becket's death. According to Le Coulteaux, Chauvet, another Carthusian annalist, writes:

'Item domus Ligeti quam Dominus papa, cum duabus aliis, jussit Henrico regi Angliae fieri in poenitentiam peccatorum suorum, eo quod jugulaverat S. Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum',

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1 eg. PR 26 Henry II, 96, 106; 30 Henry II, pp.74; King's Works, I, 90; Thompson, p.58.

2 Dugdale, VI(1), 1-2.

3 summaries in Medieval Archeology, 10, 1966, p.175 and 11, 1967, p.168.

while a third writer, Calkar, also suggests that the Pope enjoined Henry to found three Carthusian houses.<sup>1</sup> If Henry did found monasteries as his penance Le Liget may thus have formed part of it, and the date of settlement emphasises this. Although one Carthusian tradition assigns the date of foundation to 1153, most others prefer c.1178. Certainly between 1176 and 1185 Hervey, abbot of Villelloin, who owned the site, ceded it to the order on the request of Henry II and the seneschal Etienne de Vou, and was granted £100 in return.<sup>2</sup> Henry gave a charter granting the lands and a safeguard, which the fourteenth-century cartulary of the house dates as 1177-8, and Delisle as 1181-9. At about the same time he granted the house rights over Thomas Raier de Beaulieu.<sup>3</sup> A charter in the cartulary given by Droco de Mello, freeing this man, suggests that he, rather than Henry, was the source of this particular grant.<sup>4</sup> Henry, however, seems to have cast himself in the role of founder and patron. Probably as with many of his other foundations, he relied largely on the donations of others for setting up his monastery.

There is no record of how the foundation was financed. There are, however, some very fine buildings in situ, all dating from the late twelfth century. A donation of 1198 from a lady of Amboise mentions the church as though it is already completed, and the style of the buildings suggests that this was indeed the case. It was roofed with Angevin vaults, which also appear in other foundations of Henry II, at Angers and Le Mans, and again at Le Liget in the lay-brothers' quarters at La Courrerie. A circular chapel, again of the late twelfth century, stands at the other side of the mother-house, the lands of which were very extensive. If Henry

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1. Le Coulteaux, II, 449-53.

2. Le Coulteaux, II, 453; Gallia, XIV, 275; E.Martène and A Duraud, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, Paris, 1717. (= Anec.), I, 570.

3. H.II, 373-4, no. dcc xlii; II, 308, no.dclxxxiv. AD Indre-et-Loire, H.167, f.123.

4. AD Indre-et-loire, H. 167, f.124.

did finance all this, it was a magnificent gesture. Certainly present remains argue some wealthy patrons in the late twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

The English order of Sempringham found great favour with the king.

According to the Life of Saint Gilbert:

'he would not suffer Gilbert to come to the court on the business of his order, and did not blush to go to his lodgings with his nobles. There he humbly received his blessing and did not refuse to listen to his counsels about salvation. Queen Eleanor, too, rejoiced that her sons were blessed by Gilbert'. 2.

The king is reputed by this writer to have attributed the misfortunes at the end of his reign to Gilbert's death - although Gerald of Wales less charitably suggested that his 'fall' was due to the death of Becket.<sup>3</sup>

The order of Sempringham helped Becket to escape in 1164, hiding him in several priories in Lincolnshire, and their leaders seem to have narrowly avoided their own exile from England at the hands of Henry II.<sup>4</sup> Henry, indeed, switched from anger against Gilbert to wholehearted support for him during the revolt of his lay-brothers c.1165-70. This seems to have been motivated largely by the jealousy of a small group of lay-brothers of the position of the canons, but the dissidents used charges of immorality to back up their cause. For like the Fontevraldines, the Gilbertine order was composed of both men and women - lay-brothers and lay-sisters, and choir nuns and canons. The lay-brothers argued that the proximity of canons and nuns was leading to great moral laxity and that the organisation of the order should be changed.<sup>5</sup> Despite the fact that the charges were almost groundless, Pope Alexander III was won over for a time to the lay-brothers' cause, and Becket wrote to Gilbert advising him to submit to the will of the pope.

1. Figs. III, 1-6; J. Valléry - Radot, 'La Chartreuse du Liget', Congr. Arch. 106, 1948, pp.153-73.

2. Graham, p.19, from Dugdale, VI (2), xxi.

3. Giraldus, VIII, 287.

4. Graham, pp.18-19.

5. D. Knowles, 'The revolt of the lay-brothers at Sempringham', EHR, 50, 1935. (= Lay-Bros), pp.465-87.

Henry II and several English bishops, however, stood behind Gilbert. Henry wrote to him urging him not to alter the statutes of his order, and he also addressed several letters to the pope praising Gilbert: 'quamvis debilitatem corporis incurrerit, animi tamen constantiam et robur nullatenus relaxavit', and threatening to deprive the order of lands and possessions he had granted should the rule be changed. If, however, the prevailing system remained, he would give it even greater support.<sup>1</sup> Papal judges delegate subsequently cleared the order of the lay-brothers' charges, and although certain harsh aspects of the rule of the conversi were modified, the institution was to remain basically unchanged.

Henry's attitude to the quarrel, as shown in his letters, is of great interest. No doubt the opposition from Becket and the pope angered him, just as Stephen had been infuriated by papal interference with Savigny in the 1140's. Yet at the heart of his defence of Gilbert lay both his affection for the man himself, and his proprietary attitude towards his order. He clearly saw himself as the lay-advocate of the Gilbertines. As such he should be allowed a voice in the running of the order, and if this should be changed, judged it legitimate that his financial and legal support should be withdrawn. He continues:

'et si ordinem prefatum secundum primam institutionem a vobis et predecessores vestris approbatur et firmatam debito rigore feceritis observari, nos quod ad secularem institutiam nostrum pertinet, eum pro posse nostro manutenebimus, et personas illius ordinis in maxime honore et reverentia ... diligentia venerabimus'.<sup>2</sup>

He shows a shrewd realisation of the vital importance of the lay patron to the religious order, of the value of legal and temporal support, and is willing to use this to maintain his positions within the Gilbertine congregation. Through the medium of the prose composed for him by his letter-writers, he makes no high-flown claims about sacral kingship as the

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1. Lay-bros, pp.479, 483-6.

2. Lay-bros, pp.485-6.

basis for interference in religious affairs, but gives the pope characteristically realistic alternatives. He showed a similar interest in the order of Grandmont, but despite his importance as lay-advocate there, did not intervene in the disputes of the 1180s in so direct a manner. Local lords and the king of France also had a say in the running of that order, and unlike, it seems, in the case of Sempringham, the charges against it were far from groundless.<sup>1</sup>

Henry manifested his enthusiasm for the order of Sempringham by allowing it valuable privileges. In 1155-62 he gave all its possessions special protection, and a quittance from tolls throughout England; in 1155-8 an exemption from all secular exactions. Both he and Richard I allowed it judicial privileges including its own manorial courts and amercements.<sup>2</sup> Richard exempted the members from attendance at forest courts and from castle guard.<sup>3</sup> In 1199 he granted free election of the master of the order, and allowed custody of its possessions during a vacancy to its priors, thus relinquishing an important right of a royal patron.<sup>4</sup>

From 1163-4 the canons of Sempringham were allowed ~~£~~8.10s in 'Hibaldesto', Lincolnshire, on the pipe rolls. This continued until 1169-70, when, presumably at the end of the dispute within the order, Henry replaced it with a grant to Gilbert in person, ~~valued at~~ £8.10s p.a. 'in socha de cast', which was to continue until Gilbert's death and then was transferred back to the canons of Sempringham.<sup>5</sup> This pension in fact seems to have been connected later with Henry's Gilbertine foundation of Newstead-in-Ancholme, c.1171. The foundation charter of this house grants it land in 'Rucholme' - two and a half carucates, one and a half bovates and an acre, including the land in the 'socha de cast' ~~valued at~~ £8.10s - the grant which

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1. Grandmont, pp.170-1.

2. Graham, pp.78-9; B.L.Cott. Claudius D IX, f.28, transcript below, Appendix III, no.1.

3. Graham, pp.80-1.

4. Graham, p.82.

5. PR 10 Henry II. v.22: 16 Henry II, pp.140-1.

appears in the pipe roll. Henry added lands and houses in 'Hibaldesto' which had been given to the order in 1163-4, and more in 'Herdewich', the whole amounting to about 300 acres. He besides this granted considerable judicial and fiscal privileges.<sup>1</sup> Parts of the refectory, dating from the late twelfth century, still remain in a local farmhouse. It was a double naved room in a simple style, with plain octagonal piers and capitals.<sup>2</sup> John was to grant the house land in 'Husum', and he was later to be regarded as the joint founder with his father. At the time of the dissolution both kings were still being remembered in the distribution of £1.13.8d in alms to the poor.<sup>3</sup>

Henry founded no other Gilbertine priories, although he gave generously to Haverholme.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, his record as a founder is no greater than that of many of his nobles. Eustace Fitz-John, for example, had founded two important houses in Yorkshire, Watton and Malton c.1150. It was in the king's grants of privileges and in his personal support for Gilbert that Henry's greatest contribution as patron and lay advocate of the order of Sempringham lay.

### 3. Henry II and the Augustinians, Hospitals and Charity.

One of the great advantages of the Augustinians was their flexibility. They could staff a major foundation with magnificence, as at Cirencester and St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and yet were equally at home in modest surroundings, as at Thornholme.<sup>5</sup> They were interested in education and to some extent in pastoral work, as well as in intercession. They were suitable for incorporation into other mixed orders, as at Fontevrault and Sempringham. They could

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1. Dugdale, VI (2), 966, no.1; KH, p.199; Graham, p.39.

2. Pevsner, Lincs, p.322.

3. Graham, p.168; Dugdale, VI (1), 967.

4. Graham, p.33; BL Lans. 207a, f.119, transcript, below, App. III, no.2.

5. Southern, p.248.

serve on cathedral chapters as at Carlisle or as royal chaplains as at Ivychurch. They were suitable priests and could be the custodians of hospitals for the poor and sick as at Smithfield. Thus it is not surprising that the Augustinian houses which Henry II founded or gave important donations to, vary in scale from the magnificence of conventual Waltham to the moderate scale of the hospital at Quévilly, Rouen. Perhaps also he owed much of his interest in the order to the influence of Henry I his grandfather, whose example he was in many ways anxious to follow.

Waltham was one of the abbeys perhaps founded as a penance for Becket's death.<sup>1</sup> Yet like Henry I at Cirencester and Stephen at Buckfast, Henry II re-used existing substantial donations in creating the monastery. Where in many other twelfth century foundations the house itself had fallen into desuetude, Waltham was a flourishing a wealthy house of secular canons. It was believed to have owed its origins to the discovery of the Holy Cross at Montacute, Somerset, by a local noble, Tofi, who built a church for it on his lands at Waltham. Harold, later King Harold, enlarged it and endowed it richly. It was consecrated in 1060 in the presence of Edward the Confessor, and rebuilt in the early twelfth century in a fine Norman style. Despite some inroads into its considerable possessions by William I, it was still a wealthy house in the 1170s. Indeed, it had been well cared for by the successive queens, Maud, Adèle and Matilda, who had held it during the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup>

Henry, despite making modest payments, managed to claim great credit for this refoundation. The process was carried out with great ease. The dean, Guy, was a royal servant and had acted both as an envoy (1164) and as a justice (1166-9) for Henry. Life at Waltham in his absence was presumably most pleasant, for the canons were well endowed.

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1. Giraldus, VIII, 170; Gesta Henrici, I, 134-5.

2. VCH, Essex, II, 166-72; R.H. Compton, 'The foundation of Waltham Abbey', JBAA, 53, 1897, pp.137-47; BL Cott. Tib. C IV, ff.49-52

Discipline was not, perhaps, adequately maintained and in 1174 Guy was suspended from office by Archbishop Richard.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this, however, he re-appears on the pipe rolls farming the house for Henry II.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to imagine that he acted with anything other than complicity in this affair, for in 1176 he resigned the deanery to the king and was generously rewarded for his pains. From 1177-8 he received an annual allowance of £26-17-4d in 'Achelai' from the issues of Norfolk and Suffolk by royal writ.<sup>3</sup> The canons who wished to leave were pensioned off with the values of their prebends.<sup>4</sup> The Gesta Henrici points out that Henry wanted to possess the church of the Holy Cross very greatly, and that Guy was willing to give it to him. Yet the king seems to have created the impression that this was a worthwhile fulfillment of his penance. A Canterbury letter of 1198, indeed, suggests that for him merely to found a house was a great gift to God, yet to refound a house of secular canons as regulars was a double sacrifice and would please Him even more.<sup>5</sup> Henry's foundation charter of 1177 reinforces this point, by suggesting that the canons had been living 'nimis irreligiose et carnaliter'.<sup>6</sup> This is perhaps something of an exaggeration, for the laxity at Waltham, although sufficient to lead to the suspension of the dean, had clearly not reached the same level as that at Amesbury. The king had thus managed the whole affair with great skill.

In 1177 Henry II was granted papal permission from the legate, Hugo, to introduce regulars into Waltham. This was done with great

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1. Ralph of Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. W. Stubbs, RS no.68, London, 1876, (= Diceto) I, 395-6; Gesta Henrici, I, 134-6.

2. PR 21 Henry II, p. 79.

3. Gesta Henrici, I, 134-5, 174; PR 24 Henry II, p.19.

4. Gesta Henrici, I, 174.

5. Memorials of Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, RS no.38, London, 1864-5, II, 533.

6. Dugdale, VI (1), 53-4.



ceremony in June. The king chose the Augustinians to staff his new 'foundation' - 6 from Cirencester, 6 from Oseney, and 4 from St.-Osyths. Ralf, a canon of Cirencester, was consecrated as first prior.<sup>1</sup> The king intended that the house should be an imposing foundation with between 80 and 100 canons. In 1184 he elevated its status to that of an abbey, and installed Walter de Gant from Oseney as abbot.<sup>2</sup> His 'foundation' charter of 1177 shows that he confirmed the existing possessions and granted freedom from secular dues, and added the manors of 'Siwardston' and Epping. These were valued at £24 pa.,<sup>3</sup> and appear in the pipe rolls from the year 23 Henry II (1176-7). In the same year references to building operations begin. Walter de Gant the future abbot and Walter de Vere are given £40 for work on the church,<sup>4</sup> while in the next year these revenues are increased by sums including £40 and £23.12.8d. Between 1177 and 1184, c.£1200 was given for work on the church, and £378.8.5d. for the buying and transportation of building materials.<sup>5</sup> This was the sum total of the king's generosity, apart from the pensions which continued throughout the reign. The church was not, however, completed and consecrated until 1242.<sup>6</sup>

The delay is perhaps made comprehensible by the enormous scale of the new church, revealed in the 1938 excavations. The existing church was extended to the east and was given an unusual lengthened choir and transepts, a plan rarely found outside the Rhineland. The chapterhouse was also extended on a very large scale, and some fragments of free standing Purbeck marble shafts from it have recently been found.<sup>7</sup> Some surviving capitals and fragments of piers indicate that the building was completed

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1. Diceto, I, 420; Gervase, I, 261.

2. Howden, II, 118 gives 1177, but cf. Gesta Henrici, I, 316-7.

3. Dugdale, VI (1), 63-4.

4. PR 23 Henry II, 201.

5. PR 24 Henry II, 33, 47, 131.

6. King's Works, I, 88.

7. A.B. Havercroft, 'Report of the excavation of the chapter house', Abbey Historical Society Newsletter, Aug, 1972.

in the court style in the first half of the thirteenth century. Richard made further grants of lands, assarts and privileges, and Henry III, more extensive grants of land.<sup>1</sup> The house thus certainly became the major abbey that Henry II intended it to be, yet the sum total of his generosity - £1600 for a partly-completed church, and two manors, was hardly a great contribution, especially set against the existing wealth of the house.

Henry founded another Augustinian house, a priory, at Newstead, Nottingham. This was on a modest scale but for its size comparatively well endowed. From 1163-4 pipe roll onwards, the canons of 'Scirewood' begin to receive an allowance of 5s. in 'Papewick' and 100s. in 'Oswaldbech'. To put the house on its feet, Henry allowed it an extra £40 in 1163-4, and £6-3-4d. in the next year.<sup>2</sup> The foundation charter, c.1163, grants the site, the lands of 'Papewick' and 'Oswaldbech', and 48 acres of woodland in his forest. Extra lands and pensions were given by John.<sup>3</sup> The house was conceived on a small scale but was partially rebuilt by Henry III, c.1250; the existing fragments date from this time, and as at Waltham the building work of Henry II is not longer visible.<sup>4</sup>

In Dublin, Henry had another Augustinian priory founded on his behalf by William Fitz-Audelin, his seneschal, c.1177. William was commissioned to acquire land for the king and may have used parts of the royal estates. Henry granted a foundation charter but seems to have taken virtually no interest in the house; it was a foundation by proxy.<sup>5</sup> The bulk of the endowments came from local magnates, and from King John, who as Lord of Ireland, granted a church at Wicklow, beer tithes and other

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1. BL.Cott.Tib. C IX, ff. 53-69; Harl 3739, f. 41.

2. PR 10 Henry II, p. 15, 11 Henry II, p. 86.

3. VCH, Notts, II, 112-3; Dugdale, VI (1), 474-7.

4. Pevsner, Notts, pp. 114-5.

5. A. Gwynne, 'The early history of St.-Thomas' abbey', JRSAIrl. 84, 1954, pp.1-35.

privileges in the early years of his reign. In the 1211-12 Irish pipe roll it is in receipt of a pension of £13-6-8d.<sup>1</sup> In 1192 the house joined the Victorine congregation. In one way it is revealing about Henry's penance for the death of Becket for it is dedicated to Saint Thomas 'in honore Dei et beati Thomae martyrio Christi et voluntate Domini regis Anglie'.<sup>2</sup> This is the only monastery founded c.1177 - and there are many of them - which is connected with the Archbishop in any direct way. Perhaps Henry felt safe in making this dedication in so obscure a part of his Empire; it is certainly interesting, in view of his general disregard of Becket elsewhere, that it was made at all.

There are other small Augustinian houses whose tenuous connections with Henry are difficult to evaluate. Hough on the Hill, Lincs, for example, was probably founded by him c.1164 and granted to his mother's house in Cherbourg.<sup>3</sup> Likewise he may have made the grant the site to the canons of Torksey, Lincs although no pension was received by it until the reign of John.<sup>4</sup> He probably refounded and rebuilt Stephen's priory at Ivychurch, Wilts,<sup>5</sup> and likewise the house of Augustinian canonesses at Moxby, Yorks. He may have made a grant here to a group of nuns from a double monastery founded by Bertram de Bulmer. The king gave them a new site, c.1167, together with the land of Risborough.<sup>6</sup> The nuns of Moxby appear from the roll of 4 Henry II onwards in receipt of a pension of 30/-, perhaps his interest dated from earlier in his reign. Certainly it continued, for in c.1172-5 the amount was doubled and ~~allowed~~ from 'Hesiwald'.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Bodl. MS Rawlinson, B 499, ff 1-3; ed. D. Davies and D.B. Quinn, 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 1211-12', Ulster Journal of Archeology, 4, 1941, suppl.

2. Bodl. MS Rawlinson, B 499, f.1.

3. KH, p. 181; BB, VI, 156-7; Dugdale, VI (2), 1028.

4. KH, p.177; VCH, Lincs, II, 170.

5. above, pp. 74-5.

6. KH, p.262; VCH, Yorks, III, 239; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, II, London, 1656, p.98.

7. PR 2-4 Henry II, p.146; PR 19 Henry II, p.2; PR 21 Henry II, p.164.

Charitable benefactions to the poor and sick and to hospitals seem to have increased throughout the twelfth century, and the crown in the Angevin Empire as in France was certainly in the forefront here. In 1176, at a time of famine in Anjou and Maine, Henry fed ten poor men from each diocese for a period of four months, at his own expense.<sup>1</sup> The English pipe rolls for his reign record constant grant of revenues for charitable purposes. In the 1160s and 1170s he was particularly generous, perhaps a contrast with the lack of references in the 1129-30 pipe roll.<sup>2</sup> During Becket's exile, rather ironically, the revenues of his vacant see contributed £140 for the sick of Canterbury.<sup>3</sup> The sick in several towns and cities including Winchester, Hereford, Bury and St.-Albans, received constant pensions. Henry often also helped the foundations of his ancestors and of other men. In the year 1181-2, for example, £3-6s-8d. is paid out from the vacant Bishopric of Lincoln for the creation of a leper hospital for nuns, and £5 for the hospital of Blean to find chaplains.<sup>4</sup> In 8 Henry II, £3 is granted for works on a hospital in Oxford; perhaps St.-Bartholomew's, founded by Henry I,<sup>5</sup> while constant pensions go to Widsand - £5 - and to the Queen's hospital, London, St.-Katharines by the Tower, founded by Queen Matilda - £1-10s-5d. He also gave privileges to St.-Leonard's, York, refounded by Stephen.<sup>6</sup>

St.-Leonard's hospital, Derby, was probably founded by Henry II, c.1171, for leprous brothers, and was granted exemption from fiscal dues,<sup>7</sup>

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1. Diceto, I, 406-7.

2. Although the beneficiaries are often admitted in the 1129-30 roll.

3. PR 18 Henry II, p.139.

4. PR 28 Henry II, pp. 60, 150.

5. PR 8 Henry II, p.26; KH, p. 383.

6. Dugdale, VI (2), 609.

7. VCH, Derbs, II, 84; KH, p. 355.

while at the beginning of his reign the king had founded two hospitals in Essex. In c.1159 he created a priory of the Augustinian house of St.-Bernard-de-Montjoux, Savoy, at Hornchurch, Essex. The choice of order here may have been due to the influence of some royal envoys who had stayed at the mother-house while on a mission to the Emperor Frederick I.<sup>1</sup> In the foundation charter, c.1158, the king allowed £25 on lands in Havering, and £8 from Chislehurst, and these grants all appear on the pipe rolls from 1159. In 1163 he added Havering Church, and later confirmed the house and gave freedom from scot and danegeld and other dues. These grants were confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1177.<sup>2</sup> At Maldon Henry founded a leper hospital c.1164; from this year £1.10.5d is paid out as a pension.<sup>3</sup> Fragmentary remains of this survive in situ, dating from the late twelfth century. They indicate a sizeable foundation. There was probably a church already existing on the site; a pre-Norman apse has been found in the crossing. The implication of this is that Henry was probably again re-using ecclesiastical lands.<sup>4</sup>

The Norman pipe rolls which survive indicate that in the duchy, too, Henry was generous in his pensions to hospitals. In 1180, for example, the leper-house at Montfort-s-Risle was granted £19-15-5d Ang, £6-10s. for clothes, and 8s for servants.<sup>5</sup> The lepers of Lillebonne were allowed £25 pa. and the lepers of Chartres £10 by royal writ. This last house, the Cluniac priory of Ste.-Madeleine-de-Chartres, founded c.1099, had been granted this pension c.1150-1 by Henry and the Empress, and Henry confirmed it c.1159-73.<sup>6</sup>

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1. KH, p.365; VCH, Essex, II, 195; H.F. Westlake, Hornchurch Priory, a Calendar of Documents in the Possession of New College, Oxford, London, 1923, p.29, no.78.
  2. Westlake, pp.40-1, nos.146; p.45, no.168; PR 5 Henry II, pp.4, 58; Dugdale, VI (2), 653.
  3. KH, p.376; PR II Henry II, p.16; VCH, Essex, II, 188.
  4. Pevsner, Essex, p.292.
  5. Stapleton, I, 82.
  6. Stapleton, I, 68, 70; H.II, I, 15-16, no.xi; I, 565, no.ccccxvi.

In about 1185 Henry added a formal safeguard.<sup>1</sup> Several hospitals in Rouen owed much to the king. Le Mont-aux-Malades, an Augustinian house founded c.1135, was given lands, the churches of St.-Sauveur-de-Nointôt and Beuseville, a fair, and 6,000 herrings from Dieppe.<sup>2</sup> La-Madeleine, a leper hospital, he took under his protection 'sicut mea propria'.<sup>3</sup> Some grants he may have made in conjunction with the Empress who lived in Rouen and was strongly interested in charity,<sup>4</sup> yet this penchant continued beyond her death. In 1185-8 he created an Augustinian leper-house for women at Quévilli, Rouen. In his foundation charter he granted 'clausum meum domorum mearum de Quévilly' - probably a royal dwelling-house which according to Robert de Monte he had built here.<sup>5</sup> He added £200 Angevin for food and clothing for the sisters. The small chapel which survives has a round vaulted apse and choir, and a flat roofed nave; it is a very simple late twelfth-century Norman building with typical chevron decoration and interlacing round arches.<sup>6</sup> The leper hospital at Pont-Audemer, founded by Waleran, Count of Meulan c.1135 was given a fair, a confirmation, a church and a tenth of the revenues of Ste.-Mère-Eglise. The 1180 pipe roll records that it received £14.<sup>7</sup> His father's foundation of La Flèche, near Angers, was given a confirmation.<sup>8</sup> Henry may also have founded a hospital at Caen, perhaps by enlarging a hospital set up by William the Conqueror. The foundation is dedicated to Becket and local tradition maintains it was part of the penance.<sup>9</sup>

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1. H.II, II, 324, no.dcxix.

2. H.II, I, 547-9, no.cccxx; 571-2, no.cccxl; II, 87-8, no.dxxiv; 280-1, dclxv.

3. H.II, II, 327-8, no.dcciv.

4. above, pp. 79-80.

5. H.II, II, 297, no.dclxxviii; P.Duchemin, Petit Quévilli et le Prieuré de St.-Julien, Pont Audemer, 1890, p.9.

6. Dr Coutan, 'La Chapelle St.-Julien de Petit-Quévilli', Bull.Mon. 84, 1926, pp. 238-49; figs. III, 7-8.

7. H.II, I, 326-8, no.cxcv, 396-7, nos.ccxlix-ccl; II, 340-1. no. dccxvii; Stapleton, I, 97.

8. H.II, I, 211-2, no. cvi.

9. Cottineau, I, 554; Stapleton, I, c; II, clxviii.

In 1180-2 Henry created the twin hospitals at Angers and Le Mans. The charters were both given at Valognes and were witnessed by the same people and the wording of both is very similar.<sup>1</sup> In both Henry claims that he has founded the hospitals for the poor and the sick from his own alms. At Angers where early documents for the foundation still exist, this was patently not the case. A papal bull of Alexander III, c.1181, is addressed to the brothers of the almonry of Angers founded by Etienne de Marçay, seneschal of Anjou, after 1174. There are several charters of donation from the 1160s which implies that the foundation was well established by the 1180s. A confirmation from Emma, abbess of Roncerai, c.1188, also emphasises the role of Etienne as founder.<sup>2</sup> In 1181 Henry adopted the foundation as though it was of his own alms. He gave lands in Angers and the 'Bois Deserte', and as a papal bull of Clement III shows, refounded the house for ten canons, ten sisters and ten brothers.<sup>3</sup> The house had previously been administered by laymen under the abbess of Roncerai but it was now given a greater degree of independence. The earliest parts of the building probably date from about 1177-84.<sup>4</sup> They contain a very fine hall built in the so-called Angevin style, three bays in width, and a granary and cloister in late Romanesque. Perhaps Etienne began with these and Henry II completed the hall. For at his twin hospital in Le Mans he may have built a very similar hall in the 1180s; it is probably slightly later than that of Angers. The original date of foundation may be earlier than 1180; a local tradition in Le Mans maintains that Henry created it c.1165 as a celebration of victory.<sup>5</sup>

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1. H.II, II, 206-8, nos. dciv-v.

2. C. Port, Cartulaire de L'Hôtel-Dieu d'Angers, Angers, 1870, Introduction; AD Maine-et-Loire, B. 46 f.1, B. 18, f.1.

3. AD Maine-et-Loire, E 1, f.7; A 1 ff.1-2; B 12, f.3.

4. A. Mussat, 'L'Hôpital St.-Jean d'Angers', Congr.Arch. 122, 1964, pp.78-87.

5. H.II, II, 207-8, no. dcv; Présence, no.34, Oct. 1973, supplément.

Certainly, like his mother, Henry was generous to the sick in an open-handed manner, and although he often used existing institutions in his foundations, he gave both these and the creations of others lands, pensions and help with buildings in all the provinces of his Empire.

4. For Henry II, Richard I and the order of Grandmont, please refer to enclosed offprint: Journal of Medieval History, I, 1975, pp. 165-86.

5. Henry II, Richard I and the Military Orders.

In 1154, the Templars had been in England for more than two decades, and the Hospitallers one. Already both were richly endowed with lands; Stephen and Queen Matilda had lead the way with their benefactions to the Templars in England and lesser men had followed. Henry II's reign saw a change in royal attitude. As B.A. Lees says:

'Henry, it seems, was lavish of privileges, immunities and franchises, though he was somewhat sparing of grants of land to the Templars ... He strengthened the order as an administrative organisation of a highly privileged kind, rather than a great territorial power'.<sup>1</sup>

This applies, on a lesser scale, to the Hospitallers as well.

One reason for this was the nature of the orders themselves. Their basic units tended to be small preceptories and commanderies which were the equivalent - in terms of the more conventional orders - of small priories rather than large abbeys. This situation is somewhat similar to that of Grandmont, but where with the ascetic monks it was initially

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1. Lees, p.lv; W. Rees, A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Cardiff, 1947 (= Rees), p.11.



a manifestation of humility, with the military orders it sprang from the organisation of their way of life. For these were soldiers, knights in Holy Orders, often lay men with a rudimentary education, who replaced the normal monastic timetable of the offices, prayer, meditation and study in the claustral buildings, with military training and simpler prayers which were often said outside the monastery. Their houses, particularly in the West, thus needed to be relatively simple.

They thus fitted in well with Henry's policy of making only sparing grants of land from the royal domain, but granting generous privileges which cost him comparatively little. His relationship with the Templars, indeed, is perhaps the most vivid illustration of the more empirical side of his monastic patronage. For this military order had the international connections, the martial prestige and the administrative talents to make it a vitally useful instrument in the ruling and organisation of his vast expanse of land. Templars appeared constantly as envoys, acting, for example, at the Council of Clarendon in 1164, to try to reconcile Becket and the king. Also in the 1160s they acted as neutral custodians of the forts of the Vexin, the dowry of the infant daughter of Louis VII of France who was to be married to the Young King when she was of age. When Henry brought forward the nuptials, they handed over the forts to him, giving political support to their royal patron.<sup>1</sup> After the 1180s the New Temple became a bank - which was of the highest value to both Henry and Richard. Richard, indeed, continued the interest of his father in the Templars. He sold them the conquered island of Cyprus for a considerable sum of money, although it rapidly became too difficult for them to manage.<sup>2</sup> In his reign the Hospitallers also began to assume greater importance

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1. Lees, p. lii.

2. G. Hill, A History of Cyprus, Cambridge, 1948, II, 36-8;  
L. Delisle, 'Mémoires sur les opérations financières des Templiers',  
MAIBL, 33 (2), 1889. (= 'Templiers').

with the crown than in the time of his father. In 1191, for example, he entrusted the Emperor of Constantinople to the care of their Grand Master.<sup>1</sup> Yet royal control was firm, for both kings liked to have a say in the elections of the leaders of the two orders. The Templars and Hospitallers were thus highly privileged,<sup>2</sup> yet they were willing to act as instruments of royal power.

In Richard, they had a king whose tastes were very much in tune with their ideals and their raison d'être - the crusades, the holy wars aimed at the capture and the retention of the holy places. Both orders played an important role in the third crusade, as soldiers, as guardians of the sick and pilgrims, as administrators and royal counsellors. Their intrigues seem to have caused many problems among the chronically divided Western forces, but their bravery was vital to military success.<sup>3</sup> Apart from isolated grants, Richard was more in a position to favour them in his own lands than in Outremer; before the crusade he was lavish with privileges to both orders. The same situation had prevailed in general in Henry's time, but where Richard was an enthusiastic supporter of the crusade itself, Henry was careful not to commit himself either in personal or financial terms. The pleas of the Patriarch Heraclius, and the Grand Master of the Hospitallers in 1185, fell on deaf ears,<sup>4</sup> for despite Henry's protestations that he was staying behind for the benefit of his people, it was clear that he felt that crusades were not his *métier*. In 1172 at Avranches he had promised to supply the Templars with 200 knights for the defence of Jerusalem for one year, as a penance for Becket's death, and furthermore to go to the Holy Land or to Spain in person as a crusader

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1. Gesta Henrici, II, 173.

2. Rees, pp.11-12.

3. J.L. la Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cambr. Mass, 1932, pp.217-35.

4. Diceto, II, 32-3.

within three years.<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps commuted by the pope to the foundation of three monasteries. Gerald of Wales later declared that the Almighty would not be deceived, but any such consideration left Henry unmoved and in his Angevin Empire.<sup>2</sup> In 1187 after the fall of Jerusalem he took the Cross and informed the Emperor that he was about to go on crusade. In the event, however, the Saladin tithe levied by both French and English kings, and further sums of money sent by Henry, were his greatest contribution to the crusading effort.<sup>3</sup>

Despite their different attitudes towards the crusading movement, both kings valued and favoured the Templars and Hospitallers within the Angevin Empire. This was manifested particularly in the grants of privileges. Henry confirmed all their possessions at the beginning of his reign, and in 1178 exempted them from all amercements.<sup>4</sup> To the Templars he gave assarts in several counties.<sup>5</sup> The Hospitallers were exempted from dues in Essex (1174-82). Richard, immediately after his accession and prior to going on crusade, showered the orders with privileges. He began by confirming all donations made by his father to the Templars, and then re-affirmed their judicial rights, the lands they held in different countries, the assarts granted by Henry II in England, and all their possessions in Normandy.<sup>7</sup> The Hospitallers also received full confirmations of their lands in England, and later, in 1194, of their liberties and privileges.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Gesta Henrici, I, 32-3; above, pp.96-8.

2. Giraldus, VIII, 169-70.

3. Diceto, II, 51-2; Gesta Henrici, II, 30-3; J. Riley-Smith, The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310, London, 1967, p.86.

4. Lees, p.132, no.2; H.II, I, 98, no. vi; Dialogus, p.51.

5. Lees, p.142, no.6.

6. Lees, pp.140-2, no.5.

7. Lees, pp.139-44, nos. 2, 4, 5, 7; CDF, p.91, no.271; AD Vienne 3H1 and see transcript, App.III, no.4.

8. J. Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre de St.-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310, Paris, 1896, (= Le Roulx), I, 557-9, nos.877-9; I, 604-5, no.955.

Grants of liberties and privileges on this considerable scale formed the basis of the patronage relationship of Henry, Richard and the military orders. They did, however, also grant lands and pensions. The English pipe rolls also show a slight proportional increase in the sums allowed from the county issues for both reigns.<sup>1</sup> For the Templars these consisted both of ~~allowances on~~ land, and a constant sum of about £37 p.a. coming from the 'Templars' mark' levied on the shires. This last may have originated in Stephen's reign, for in the early pipe rolls of Henry II, the issues of some countries where Stephen had shown a particular interest in the order, had sums allowed from them in shillings and not in marks, which were the normal currency in which they were expressed. Once the grant became systematised by Henry II, the differences were ironed out. A charter of Richard explains the system of grants and fixes them at one mark of silver from each shire and from each town yielding more than 100m. p.a.<sup>2</sup> This thus brought in a considerable sum in total. In addition there was money allowed for lands and pensions, which rose slowly under Henry II and remained fairly static under Richard. Many of the lands for which allowance was made in the pipe rolls had been granted by Stephen - Eagle, Lincs, ~~in theory~~ worth £11 in terris datis, is an example. Increases by Henry were effected slowly. In Staffs an extra 43s-7d appears in Keele in 1168-9, which was presumably when the king made the grant. It is noted in the 1180 Inquest of Templars' lands valued at eight marks.<sup>3</sup> The approximate extent of Henry's donations to the Templars in England may be seen in a charter of Richard I of 1189 and the Inquest.<sup>4</sup> The charter shows that Henry, or

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1. above, pp. 37-8, 46-7.

2. Lees, pp. 140-2, no. 5.

3. PR 15 Henry II, p. 68; Lees, p. 31; cf. KH, p. 294.

4. Lees, pp. 140-2, no. 5.

perhaps in some cases Richard, gave the hermitage of Fletchamstead, Warks, the land of Richendon in Dunwich, Suffolk, Lundy Island, markets at Witham and Baldock and mills at Pembroke.<sup>1</sup> The Inquest indicates that he gave an important grant of land at Finchingfield,<sup>2</sup> and certain churches in Lincolnshire.<sup>3</sup> In Kent he granted the manor of Strood with land and judicial rights, c.1159 - for this was when it first appears in the pipe roll valued at £13.<sup>4</sup> The order was granted several manors in this county c.1156-64, which seem to break with Henry's later and more moderate gifts. Kingswood was given c.1156, Deal, c.1158,<sup>5</sup> and a carucate at Dartford c.1154-61.<sup>6</sup> His brother William granted the lands at Ewell, before his death in 1164.<sup>7</sup> Eagle, Lincs, was also given churches and a mill.<sup>8</sup> The Norman pipe roll of 1180 shows that the Templars were allowed about £50.-10s. Rouen from the area it covered. £40 of this was given in Caen to defray the expenses of the chapter. In Rouen, where £10 was allowed the king created a preceptory at Val de la Haye. Richard I added very little apart from sums such as 5s.6d in Evreux - his generosity in privileges was far greater.<sup>9</sup>

The Hospitallers by contrast received rather less. In Normandy their pensions amounted to little more than the £11 from Caen in the area covered. In England in Henry's reign their only major grant was 30s.

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1. Lees, pp.140-2, no.5.
  2. Lees, p.10.
  3. Lees, p. clv.
  4. PR 5 Henry II, p.58.
  5. PR 1-4 Henry II, pp.65, 179-80.
  6. Lees, p.174, no.1.
  7. Lees, p.xcvi.
  8. Lees, pp.clxxx-i.
  9. Stapleton, I, c-ci.

in terris datis, made in 1158 in Hereford de novo.<sup>1</sup> This may have provided the basis for the preceptory of St. Giles', Hereford. The order probably built a church with a round nave here before the end of the twelfth century, and a hospital for the poor and sick was attached to the foundation.<sup>2</sup> The Hospitallers ~~were also allowed~~ £7-10s. from Kent after 1190, for land which had formerly been held by 'Ade coci'.<sup>3</sup>

Some lands may have been granted specifically to certain houses of the military orders. Henry, for example, took a considerable interest in the affairs of the Templars in London. He granted them the advowson of St.-Clement Danes' church,<sup>4</sup> and in 1159, a mill and a site near to the River Fleet. It was in this area that the new Temple was built after the sale of the old Temple to the Bishop of Lincoln in 1161.<sup>5</sup> The new Temple church, to become an important royal depository of treasure, was one of the earliest buildings in England to be constructed in the transitional Romanesque-Gothic style. It was very similar to the Paris Temple in its design. It was dedicated in 1185 and was viewed as a royal church.<sup>6</sup> Henry's rôle in its creation is unclear, but the site was probably not that which he gave. It belonged to the Lordship of Leicester although no records exist to show how it was acquired. Gervase of Cornhill and William Martel are cited as donors in the Inquisitio Terrarum.<sup>7</sup> There are no references

1. PR 2-4 Henry II, p.114.

2. KH, p.304; A.Watkins, 'St.-Giles, Hereford', Trans. Woolhope Club, 26, 1927-9, pp.102-5; H.J. Harris, 'The Knights Hospitaller in Herefordshire', Trans. Woolhope Club, 31, 1942-5, pp.132-40.

3. PR 34 Henry II, p.203; PR 2 Richard I, p.147.

4. Lees, pp.166-7, no.11.

5. Lees, p.lxxxvi; Dugdale, VI (2), 1821.

6. Pevsner, London, I, pp.313-5; Lees, p.lv; H. de Curzon, La Maison du Temple de Paris, Paris, 1888 (= Curzon), pp.71, 83.

7. Lees, pp. lxxvii-iii; Dugdale, VI (2), 821.

to building works at the New Temple in the pipe rolls. It was not until the time of Henry III that any substantial donations went from the crown to the new Temple.

Other preceptories may also have been augmented by royal grants. The house at Garway, Herefordshire, is attributed to Henry. The manor was granted c.1185-7 and assarts were added to it,<sup>1</sup> and this was confirmed by Richard I in 1189.<sup>2</sup> His charter describes Henry's gift of the chapel, and the house which had belonged to a certain Hermann. It seems that here the king had granted a manor which was already settled. He may, however, have helped to build the church. It had a round nave similar in design to that of the Temple church.<sup>3</sup> It was built in the 1180s and 1190s, and the one remaining arch, with fine Norman chevron decoration and lobing almost oriental in style, is a reminder of the crusading interests and continental connections of the Templars, set in the Welsh marshes.<sup>4</sup> A similar process to that of Garway took place when Henry founded the preceptory at St.-Vaubourg, Rouen. In the 1170s he granted the site and lands of his manor which had originally been created by Henry I. There were probably seigneurial buildings there already. A seventeenth-century map in the Archives Nationales shows that the lands of the house amounted by this time to almost 400 acres. In the 1180 pipe roll it is shown to be in receipt of a pension of £20 by royal charter.<sup>5</sup> Yet Henry seems to

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1. PRO E 163/1/1A; transcript below, App.III, no.3; Rees, pp.51-3; was this the house he founded in Wales; Lees, p.lv, notes 7-8; the pipe rolls describe Hereford as 'in Walliis'.

2. PRO C 47/12/5; Lees, pp.142-3.

3. G. Marshall, 'The church of the Knights Templar at Garway', Trans. Woolhope Club, XXVI, 1927-9, pp. 86-101.

4. fig. III, 9.

5. Stapleton, I, 70; fig. III, 10.

have given nothing towards the building-fund of the house.

Normandy was an area where the military support of the Templars was vital. The same also holds true of Ireland, and it is perhaps not surprising to find that the order was introduced there by Henry. Several of his gifts of the 1170s were confirmed by Richard in 1189 and John in 1199. These included mills in Waterford and Wexford, the church of St.-Allock and a burgess of Wexford with his chattels - together with three grants of lands which became the basis for preceptories. Two of these were in the diocese of Waterford - Crooke with ten carucates of land and Kilbarry with one - while the other, the vill of Clontarf, was near Dublin.<sup>1</sup> John was to continue to support the order in Ireland.

Some lands were given to Hospitallers' preceptories, but these were limited. Henry had tenuous connections with the hospital of St.-Thomas of Acon which might possibly have begun life affiliated to the order as part of his penance.<sup>2</sup> St. Giles' Hereford, may have been settled on land granted by him, as has been shown and he may have given land to Dinmore nearby.<sup>3</sup> With the house at Minchin Buckland in Somerset we are on firmer ground. In 1166 a local landowner, William de Erleigh, had founded a house of Augustinian canons here. A later source suggests that the steward there was murdered and that consequently the house passed into the king's hands.<sup>4</sup> According to a letter of the bishop of Bath, the

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1. ed. H.S. Sweetman and G.F. Handcock, Calendar of Documents in Ireland, London, 1875 (= CDIrl), I, 13, no.85.

2. KH, p.372; cf. Brooke and Keir, pp.334-5.

3. KH, p.304; Harris, p.158; Rees, pp.39-40.

4. VCH, Somt, II, 148.



founder then petitioned Ranulf de Glanville that Hospitallers should be put in there. In c.1180 Henry agreed that it should pass to the order providing that the canons were evicted and that all the sisters of the order in England should settle there.<sup>1</sup> Henry had intervened in the interests of the sisters, but he is nowhere stated as having given material aid to the foundation. Richard's grant of the manor of Staintondale, Yorkshire, was to become the basis of a camera for the Hospitallers.<sup>2</sup> He may also have given some help to Dinmore.<sup>3</sup> In 1189 he confirmed the donation of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, of the church of the Holy Cross, and also granted land at Matcham.<sup>4</sup> In 1216 his wife Berengaria was to give them a house at Thorée obtained by Richard and herself in 1195, in memory of her husband.<sup>5</sup>

The orders thus came to occupy a highly privileged position in all the Angevin lands. Yet the apogee of their royal favour was not to be reached until the early years of Henry III in England. Here was a king whose ideals were far removed from their own, but who was to give them lands and revenues on a scale never reached by Henry II or Richard I. For as with many other orders, and especially with the Grandmont, privileges formed the main currency of their favour towards the military orders.

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1. ▲ Cartulary of Buckland Priory, ed. F.W. Weaver, Som. Rec. Soc. vol.25, 1909, nos. 1, 3, 7; KH, p.302.
  2. KH, p.306.
  3. E. Hermitage Day, 'The Preceptory of the Knights Templar at Garway, Herefordshire', Trans. Woolhope Club, XXXVI, 1927-9, pp.45-76.
  4. BL Harl. Ch. 43/C/28; Le Roulx, I, 556-8, nos.876-7.
  5. Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, MS 675, ff.71-2; Le Roulx, II, no.1451; L. Landon, The Itinerary of Richard I, London, 1935, (= Landon), p.101.

## 6. Richard I and the Monastic Orders

William of Newburgh described Henry II as a patron and protector of monks, but Richard as the man who 'ab ecclesiis, maxime monasteriis, extorqueret'.<sup>1</sup> Neither of these pictures rings wholly true. Henry was a man whose own interests were as important as pious benefactions in the field of monastic patronage. Richard mulcted the church for his crusades, and was on occasions harsh when ecclesiastics threatened his political advantages.<sup>2</sup> Yet he also 'loved the daily offices and order of the church', and unlike John, seems to have had a genuine respect for religion. In 1195, for example, Howden says, he replaced the vessels taken from the churches for his ransom, and gave generously to the poor and sick at a time of famine.<sup>3</sup> The Norman pipe rolls for 1195 and 1198 show this in action. The lepers of Les Andelys - the vill near Château Gaillard, for example, received £10 de elemosinis regis.<sup>4</sup> In England Richard helped several hospitals, including St.-Mary's Strood, a foundation of the bishop of Rochester of 1192-3, in Kent. This received generous donations in 1193, given at Worms, and the pipe rolls record a pension going to it from 1194 - 'Et hospitali Sancte Marie de Stroda xiid in duabus partibus bosci quod est iuxta Mallinges' ...<sup>5</sup> Richard of Devizes praised ~~the~~<sup>king's</sup> devotion to Christ, in whose name he left England as if never to return. This appears to be a somewhat one-sided view, but it is nevertheless significant such an interpretation could be made.<sup>6</sup>

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1. William of Newburgh, Historia, ed. H.C. Hamilton, London, 1856, V, 126-7.

2. Powicke, pp.104-5, 113.

3. Howden, III, 290.

4. Stapleton, II, 310.

5. Landon, p.79; PR 6 Richard I, p.242; KH, p.395.

6. Richard of Devizes, The Chronicle, ed. J.T.Appleby, NMT, 1963, p.5.

Like Henry II, Richard favoured Fontevrault. In c.1185, for example, he gave it 100s. Poitevin, and in 1190, £35 to be received annually from London.<sup>1</sup> He may also have given money towards the construction of the cloister,<sup>2</sup> and he was to be buried there in 1199. He had ordered, Howden wrote,

'Ut cerebrum et sanguis eius et viscera sua sepelirentur  
apud Charrou, et cor suum apud Rothomagum, et corpus suum  
apud Frontem Ebraudi (sic), ad pedes patris sui'. 3

In spite of manifesting somewhat less interest than Henry in the smaller orders, he continued to show some favour to Grandmont and Sempringham.<sup>4</sup> The Templars and Hospitallers also received some important grants, but the majority of his major patronage gifts to monasteries went to the Benedictines, the Augustinians and the Cistercians. He founded a Benedictine priory, and Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys, and perhaps a Grandmontine cella. But almost all the manifestations of his interest were to be found on the continent - his visits to England totalled a mere five months - and the historian of English affairs should perhaps look abroad to gain a full view of the monastic patronage of this war-mongering monarch.

Richard's overwhelming interest in his continental dominions is reflected in the siting of his few monastic foundations there. Two of these, Le-Lieu-en-Jard, and Gourfaillies, were in the Vendée, with which he had a particular acquaintance. Several Grandmontine priories in the area also claimed him as founder or patron.

Bonport, his most important foundation (c.1190), a Cistercian house, was, however, in Normandy. It was sited on the river Seine, in an

1. CDFr. p.382, no.1083, p.386, no.1088.

2. Crozet, p.55, no.215.

3. Howden, IV, 84; below, pp. 310, 316.

4. eg. Grandmont, charters pp.182-5, et passim.

area vital to the defences of the province, near Pont-de-L'Arche, and not far below Les Andelys, where the King was to build the pièce de résistance in his line of defensive castles, Château Gaillard. Indeed, the surrounding wall of Bonport, built by Richard himself, is a clear sign of the strategic importance of the area.

'Il est d'un tel genre de construction que, sur certains points, il présente une apparence militaire. Ici l'on avait mis des contreforts; a quelques mètres plus loin, c'étaient des tourelles qui semblaient faites pour la défense'. 1

The site by the water is a classic Cistercian pattern. Yet there were many other deserted riverside sites in Normandy. Why did Richard choose this particular area?

One legend tells of how the king was hunting by the Seine when both he and his horse fell into the water. He promised the Virgin Mary in his terror that he would found an abbey on the spot where he landed, if this should be allowed to him.<sup>2</sup> This is a pleasing tale, and several twelfth-century abbeys are supposed to owe their genesis to vows made at moments of panic. Yet perhaps Richard was looking to create a monastery he could depend on in that particular area. On the highest level, its intercession would be valuable. But the abbot could also be counted on for political support, and might exercise some sway amongst the Norman Cistercians in general. The house could also be a sanctuary en cas d'urgence.

Bonport, then, was clearly a well thought out creation. It was begun c.1190, for although the foundation charter is not extant, there are some charters of privilege dating from this time. One grants land at Ardoval for a grange, and another free custom.<sup>3</sup> These were given in June 1190,<sup>4</sup> but the charter of a local noble, Ansel de L'Isle, granting free

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1. L.de Duranville, Pont de L'Arche at l'Abbaye de Bonport, Rouen, 1856, p.215; fig.III, 11.

2. J. Andrieux, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Bonport, Evreux, 1862 (= Andrieux), Introduction.

3. Andrieux, pp.2-3, nos.ii-iii.

4. Landon, p.34.

passage on land for the goods of the religious, was sealed in May.<sup>1</sup>

This refers to the abbey as though it is already in existence: 'ecclesia Sancte Marie, de dono regis Anglorum'. Perhaps Richard had begun the foundation before 1190. The monastery was clearly given a pension at its foundation. The 1195 pipe roll shows a considerable amount being paid from the Dieppe issues, £133-6s-8d for 50 marks of silver for half a year and £15-15s-4d left over from the preceding year.<sup>2</sup> A later charter of Richard shows that this pension was indeed fixed at 100 marks per annum from Dieppe. The full extent of the possessions are detailed in this charter of 1198. The author of the Gallia Christiana suggests that this is the foundation charter of 1190, and it is the first charter to appear in the Cartulary in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>3</sup> But the location - Château-Gaillard - and the witness list, date it clearly as 1198.<sup>4</sup> The possessions of the abbey were extensive - the site, plus 20 carucates of land at Morin and 10 at Awiz, pasturage, water and fisheries in the forest of Bord, the customs returns of Pont-de-L'Arche, the mill of 'Posum', the church of 'Crikboe' and the 100 marks from Dieppe.<sup>5</sup> The 1198 pipe roll refers to the foundation and individual items which have appeared in the charter are mentioned: 'Pro aquagio Secane quod monachi de Bono Portu haberunt, xxxvii libri de elemonsinis statutis.'<sup>6</sup> This **grant** is again of some value, as are the king's

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1. Andrieux, pp.1-2, no.i.

2. Stapleton, I, 235.

3. Gallia, XI, inst. 137-8; BN MS Lat. 13906, f.23; AD Eure, H.190 (gives 1190); AD Seine-Mar. 5 H 22 (gives 1192); 5 H 24 (gives 1189).

4. Landon, p.135.

5. Andrieux, pp.14-16, no.xvii.

6. Stapleton, II, 481.

donations of the meadows and vines of Vaudreuil also detailed in the roll - and here the charter is specifically referred to. The memorandum also confirms the grant of bees in the forest, for making mead from the honey.

Philip-Augustus clearly appreciated the significance of the monastery. In 1200 he gave it a formal safeguard. This was quickly countered by John, who granted free customs to 'abbatia nostra' in 1201, and a safeguard in 1202.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after Normandy had fallen in 1206, the French king gave Bonport a full confirmation, and ordered his baillis to respect the customs of the monks and their men.<sup>3</sup> Much of the abbey has now disappeared, but fragments of the church which was built by Richard, the cloister and some outbuildings survive, together with the remains of a refectory of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An engraving by Millin shows that the church was remodelled at the same time as this rebuilding.<sup>4</sup> Yet with its flanking walls, and its site by the river, its late twelfth century remains, it still appears very much as the classic late twelfth century Cistercian abbey, if one built in a perilous area.

Richard clearly took considerable interest in the Cistercians. Adam of Perseigne became his confessor in 1198.<sup>5</sup> In 1189: 'ad capitulum generale de diversis terrarum locis convenientibus singulis annis centum marcas argenti contulit et charta sua confirmavit'.<sup>6</sup> How accurate the figures are it is hard to judge, but the manor and church of Scarborough were granted to the chapter in this year, perhaps in connection with this donation.<sup>7</sup> It was clearly a valuable piece of property, for another

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1. Stapleton, II, 482.

2. Andrieux, pp.28-30, nos.xxix, xxx-ii.

3. Andrieux, pp.31-4, nos. xxxiv-v.

4. Dr.Coutan, 'Nôtre-Dame de Bonport', Bull. Mon. 69, 1905, pp.182-90.

5. J. Barrière, 'La Piété-Dieu de L'Epau', Arch.Hist.du Maine, XV, 1968 (= Barrière), p.20.

6. Wendover, I, 167.

7. C.H. Talbot, 'Cîteaux and Scarborough', Studia Monastica, II, 1960, pp. 95-158.

account suggests that as much as 120 marks pa went from it to Cîteaux. Later in 1189 more revenues were added. Despite the opposition of the archdeacon of Cleveland the manor was again confirmed in 1198 and given its own proctor instead of being administered from Rievaulx.<sup>1</sup> The grant was one of the first of the rents of churches to the order, although it seems to have been made for the basis of a cell.<sup>2</sup> The church, St.-Mary's, bears tangible witness to its Cistercian links. Although the chancel and the North transept no longer exist, the nave is a clear example of the late twelfth century Yorkshire Cistercian style, with no gallery but a clerestory of plain lancets, with windows shafted inside.<sup>3</sup>

Richard's wife, Berengaria also shared his interest in the white monks. After her husband's death she lived in Le Mans which had come to her in her dowry, with the confirmation and protection of the French kings who had taken the county of Maine from the English crown. Here she gained a high reputation for her charitable work.<sup>4</sup> In 1229 she decided to found a Cistercian abbey near to the town, and chose as a site the land of 'L'Espal' which Louis IX had ceded to her in 1228.<sup>5</sup> The brothers of Henry II's foundation, the Hôtel-Dieu, however, caused some difficulties by claiming that this land had been ceded to them by Arthur, Count of Brittany. Berengaria denied this assertion but was nevertheless obliged to grant them £100 Mançais to buy a rent in recompense (1230).<sup>6</sup> Further lands and rents were acquired by transactions with local inhabitants - Hugo Haane,

1. Landon, p.127.

2. KH, p.131.

3. Pevsner, Yorks, N. Riding, pp.219-20.

4. Barrière, pp.13-15.

5. Gallia, XIV, 536; BN MS Lat.17124, f.29; transcript, below, App.III, no.9.

6. AD Sarthe H 833, no.1.

for example sold her some tithes - and these were formally handed over to the abbot and monks of the house in 1230.<sup>1</sup> Maurice, Bishop of Le Mans, gave her considerable help with all these transactions.<sup>2</sup> In the same year Louis IX confirmed the foundation and granted a pension of £50 Tours, rights to cut wood, a burgess from Le Mans and freedom from tolls.<sup>3</sup> The foundation was thus well under way by this time. Berengaria was, however, unable to supervise its completion, for in 1230 she died. She must certainly have intended the house as her mausoleum in the manner of a Barbeaux, for she was buried here immediately either in the choir or in the transept, and a fine tomb was made for her. A dedication took place in 1234 but the monastery was probably not completed until c.1250.<sup>4</sup> As a royal mausoleum the house was relatively modest, and the church accorded to the earlier precepts of the Cistercian order in its straight East end and its lack of ornamentation.<sup>5</sup> The arms of France and of England appear in the keystones of the vaults of the church, and these are a reminder of the royal origins and connections of l'Epau.

Richard did not confine his patronage to the Cistercians. During his travels through Western France prior to setting off on crusade in May 1190, he created two houses in the Vendée, - the Benedictine priory of Gourfaillles and the Premonstratensian abbey of Le-Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard.<sup>6</sup> The sense of need for intercession might have played some part in these creations, and Bonport's first charters appeared in the next month, June.

1 AD Sarthe, H 833, nos.2-3; transcript, below, App III, no.11.

2 Barrière, pp.13-14, 24.

3 BN MS Lat. 17124, ff.26-27, App.III, no.10.

4 Barrière, pp.30-1; Ann.Mon. II, 308.

5 Fig. III, 12-14

6 Landon, p.32; K. Norgate, Richard the Lion Heart, London, 1924, pp.115-6.



But he may also have had a strong attachment to the Vendée area. Gourfaillies was a modest Benedictine priory. The foundation charter describes it as the 'Parvo monasterio quod fundavimus ad honorem beati Andree'.<sup>1</sup> Richard gave it its site, wood to build the house and for fuel, a mill, vines and freedom from secular exactions. Any lands it should acquire were to be given safeguards equal in scope with the others. But donations must have been few, for the monastery had ceased to exist within a century and became the centre of a small fief.<sup>2</sup>

Le Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard was somewhat more richly endowed by contrast - for the needs of a Premonstratensian house were relatively modest. It was sited on the coast near to Jard and could have been of little strategic importance until the loss of the heartlands of the Angevin Empire. Despite several rebuildings some masonry of the late twelfth century can still be seen in places. In the abbot's parlour is a barrel vault of this period, while in the chapter house the lines of similar constructions are visible in walls heightened in the fourteenth century for the addition of a Gothic roof. A plan made before the revolution shows that the church was an aisleless double rectangle in shape, but also indicated that the scale of the whole was quite extensive.<sup>3</sup> The thirteenth century was the 'golden age' of the house, when it enjoyed its revenues without the later harassments. The basis of these was the 'Terra Comitisse', some demesne lands of the Duchy of Poitou. In his first charter of 1190, Richard grants the site in the forest of Roche near Jard, the lands of the Terra Comitissa, wood

1 Arch. Hist. du Poitou, I, Poitiers, 1872, pp.120-1.

2 A. Richard, Histoire des Comptes de Poitou, Paris, 1903, II, 265.

3 G. Delhommeau, L'Abbaye Royale de Nôtre-Dame de Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard, Les Sables d'Olonne, 1968, and plan, fig. III, 15.

for building and burning, pasturage, rents of grain and wine, and more land which he had 'exchanged' with the monks of Moutiers for 30s p.a. As with Gourfaillies he gives privileges for lands to be acquired, free from secular exactions. The witnesses for both charters are in fact substantially the same. In 1197 he gave another charter, confirming and increasing the donations he had already made.<sup>1</sup> This has often been taken as the foundation charter,<sup>2</sup> but even if the earlier charter is ignored, this would from internal evidence be unlikely. The references to the site show that the buildings were well under way by this time. Richard added more lands, fishing rights in Les Sables d'Olonne, some islands, and an allowance of £35 in 'Longavill' to his former grant, making this house considerably richer than Gourfaillies.

Richard is often portrayed as par excellence the man of war, whose chief interest in the church was to exploit it for his crusades. This picture is in many ways a correct one, but it is also somewhat paradoxical. For a crusade was essentially a holy war, and although motives for going on one could often be exceedingly mixed, the hope for gain and a love of fighting and religious devotion were not seen as being necessarily mutually exclusive. A crusading king would also have been expected to show interest in the patronage of churches and monasteries. Richard's three foundations and his often generous donations to the Cistercians, the Grandmontines and the military orders made during the few years when he was in his Empire compare favourably with the records of William Rufus, an equally fanatical warmonger, and with Philip-Augustus of France. Nor did Richard utilise Henry II's practice of taking over the foundations of other men and calling them his own.

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1. Arch. Hist. Poitou, XI, Poitiers, 1882, pp.408-12, nos.clxxiv-v; AN S 4343; Gallia, II, inst. 423, no.xviii.

2 eg. Cottineau, I, 1609.

To look at the crusade from the material point of view and to recognise the extent to which ecclesiastical revenues financed it would leave a strong impression that Richard took more from the church than he gave it. Yet such a verdict needs and deserves considerable qualification. The king was clearly not without piety, if piety tempered with political acumen. This emerges in his strategic siting of Bonport, and his less strategic siting of Le Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard and Gourfailles. These last two in particular suggest that Richard I had some measure of genuine interest in religious affairs.

(7) King John, the Church and the Monastic Orders.

Despite numerous accounts which attempt to explain John's attitude to religion, he still remains in this, as in many other ways, an enigmatic figure. It is clear that on the one hand he was often generous to the monastic orders, for he founded the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu and about four hospitals, and gave frequently and open-handedly to charity. He also manifested some reverence for Saint Wulfstan and Saint Oswald. Yet on the other hand he despoiled the church with a frequency and thoroughness indicative of his financial needs. Such extremes of behaviour were not necessarily incompatible in a thirteenth-century king; both Henry III and Louis IX were often criticised for mulcting the church, and both were generous patrons of the religious orders. But John was also accused by many near-contemporary writers, especially Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, of a deep sense of irreligion, of a piety only skin-deep, and this has been a constant theme even in the accounts of writers who attempt to play down his harsh policies towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> And, indeed,

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1 Eg.W.L. Warren, *King John*, London, 1961, pp.15-31; Poole, pp.425-30; S. Painter, *The Reign of King John*, Baltimore, 1949.

ven allowing for exaggerations of the thirteenth-century writers, it is hard to reach any other estimation of John's attitude to spiritual affairs. This makes him rather more of a contradictory figure than an examination of his monastic patronage alone might lead us to imagine.

That John was at times a surprisingly generous patron of the religious orders emerges from the administrative records for the reign, and especially from the pipe, misae and liberate rolls. But what of his financial exactions aimed against the church? The monastic press of his time made much of these. Fairly typical is this extract from the Waverley annals:

'MCCX. Johannes Rex sub praetextu recuperandae Normanniae et aliarum terrarum suarum quibus eum Rex Franciae Philippus spoliaverat, inestimabilem et incomparabilem fecit pecuniae numeratae exactionem, nullis viris clericis vel laicis, nulli religioni cuiuscunque ordinis parcens. Monachi vero nigri et canonici, Hospitalarii et Templarii circa Pascha singulariter finem fecerunt'.<sup>1</sup>

The chronicler goes on to relate that so heavy were the fines levied on the Cistercian order, that some houses, including the writer's own, were forced to disperse. Now it is certainly true that the monastic orders, and especially the white monks, did suffer badly at the hands of John, especially in 1209-10, when his need for money was acute. On the other hand, as recent historians of the reign have been at pains to point out, his reputation as a totally irreligious despoiler of the secular and monastic clergy is based primarily upon the hyperbole of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris who revelled in their stories of his evil deeds - together with annals written in many cases by monks who suffered considerably from his exactions. Their stories have been amplified subsequently, reaching their climax in the work of Stubbs, who saw John as: 'the very worst of our kings, a man whom no oaths could bind, no pressure of conscience, no consideration of policy, restrain from evil'.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that John

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1 A n. M n. II, 264.

2 W. Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, Oxford, 1896-7, I, 534.

did molest the clergy at times, but that many accounts of this process have been somewhat extreme. More difficult to establish, however, is the king's attitude to religion itself. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Syles suggest that accounts of his irreverence are highly exaggerated, and that the stories of his blasphemies and lack of attention during mass retailed by Adam of Eynsham in his Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, are not a 'sincere and personal narrative' but a 'romance'.<sup>1</sup> They give as an example the fact that he communicated regularly during the Interdict, and suggest that he possessed at least a conventional piety. Yet these stories in the Magna Vita are well in keeping with hints from the royal rolls and from other sources which indicate that John often exercised a strange and offensive sense of humour and a singular lack of respect in his ecclesiastical dealings. He gave generously to charity, but often as a penance for himself and his friends to hunt or to eat on the fast-days of the church. He formulated a definite system, whereby the court could indulge in this kind of behaviour with impunity because God was being repaid in both spiritual and financial currency. The workings of the scheme emerge clearly in the misae rolls, where the two parts of the deal, the abberation and its repayment, are linked very clearly. The 1209 Roll, for example, states:

'eidem abbate (Croxdon) pro elmosinis D. pauperum eo quod (x) comedit pisces et bibit vinum in die crucis adorande, apud Northampton, xlvii s. x d. ob.'. 2

In the same way his taking of communion during the Interdict suggested by the 1213-14 household accounts, and his devotion to the cross<sup>3</sup> might be seen as gestures prompted to some extent by his blasphemous humour - for the ecclesiastical sanctions against himself and his country were grave -

1 GME, pp.330-1, 347-8.

2 Rotuli de Liberat ac de Misis et Praestitis, ed.T.D. Hardy, London, 1844, p.110.

3 H. Cole, Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, London, 1844, pp.258, 262.

rather than any great display of piety. However 'romantic' are A a of Eynsham's accounts th y do tally with this picture of Jo 's black humour, which emerges also in other, s cular dealings.<sup>1</sup> An example fr m the Magna Vita is John's visit to Font vra lt, c.1200, in th company of Saint Hugh. A am all g s that as they arrived the bishop of Lincoln escribed in a somewhat pointed manner some representations of the Last Judgement over the door as a dire warning to evil rulers. But as they entered the church, John caught sight of some paintings of kings enthroned in majesty, and said to Hugh: 'My lord bishop, you should have shown us these, whom we intend to imitate and whose company we int nd to join'.<sup>2</sup> For the next few days he behaved in an exemplary fashion, but when the time came to make the customary oblation of twelve gold coins, he was reluctant to part with the money. When asked for the reason for the delay, he remarked:

'I am looking at these gold pieces and thinking that if I had had them a f w days ago, I would not have delivered them to you, but have pocketed them; but now you can take them'.<sup>3</sup>

John's 'unholy' reputa ion, then, was probably not based solely upon hi exactions and his persecutions of the clergy,<sup>4</sup> but stemmed al o from a somewhat cavalier and blasphemous attitude towards religion itself, exaggerated to quite devilish proportions by Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. Yet however ambivalent was his attitude towards religion, hi interest in certain aspects of patronage seems to have been pursued with convic io . To take a balanced view of this m nastic patron o it is n cessary to put his gen rosity, albeit at the hope of s,iritual gain and

1 Warr n, John, passim; and pp. 209-10; eg. holding the concubines of churchmen up to ransom

2 MV, II, 140-1.

3 MV, II, 142.

4 Alth ough a 'free' electi ook plac at Bury-St.-E un s in 1214, The Chron'cl of the El ction of H gh, ed. R.M. Thomson, OMT, 1974, pp.xlv'-vii, 163-73.

and perhaps enhance reputation, side by side with his money-raising activities and his other jib at the expense of nun, monks and canons.

The pipe rolls, close rolls and charters surviving from John's reign indicate that his general patronage of the monastic orders ran a surprisingly uneventful course and differed very little from that of his predecessors. Although his interest in Fontevrault, Sempringham and other ascetic orders was rather less pronounced than that of Henry II, the general pattern of important grants remained much the same as in previous reigns. This was in part due to the issue of charters by the secretariat as part of a standard procedure, yet this section of the administration seems to have been supervised closely by the king, and often these charters had to be paid for.<sup>1</sup> The monastic orders benefitted to some extent from royal charters, but less than in previous reigns from pensions, for the rising prices diminished the value of the revenues allowed to them from the country issues. These also probably fell in proportion to the royal income.<sup>2</sup> After the loss of Normandy the revenues going from England to houses there also fell off gradually, encouraged actively by the king.<sup>3</sup> The pipe rolls suggest that revenues directed towards charitable purposes remained proportionally static, but the liberate rolls are needed as a corrective in this case, for they record that some moderately large sums were at times paid out in this direction.

John showed some favour towards the Templars, whom he used as administrators and as bankers. His almoner, Roger, for example, was

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1 Warren, John, pp. 142-62.

2 above, pp. 37-8, 46-7.

3 Matthew, pp. 72-6.

dawn from the river.<sup>1</sup> He was glad to use the New Temple as a repository for money; in 1209 for example, he took 40,000 marks there, and in 1213, another 20,000.<sup>2</sup> It was likewise a valuable source of supply for capital; in 1199 the Templars had to pay £1,000 for a charter of privileges and in 1210, with the Hospitallers and the black monks they paid a sizeable fine.<sup>3</sup> The Templars gave John valuable political support; he was staying at the new Temple in London when the demands of the barons for Magna Carta reached him.<sup>4</sup> Little, however, was granted in return, apart from such sums as the £4 in 'Berholt' probably given by John from the issues of Norfolk and Suffolk, appearing in the pipe rolls from 1199. In 1213, the order was granted a licence for selling wool abroad.<sup>5</sup> The Hospitallers also received little apart from the manor of Newland, Yorks, where a preceptory was later founded largely at the expense of the lords of Altofts.<sup>6</sup>

In his gifts to the Benedictines and Augustinians, John tended to concentrate on small and obscure houses, showing a particular interest in nunneries. One of these he may have founded at Bromhall, Berks; he was certainly a generous benefactor.<sup>7</sup> Other houses were given lump sums or different kinds of donations. In 1212 for example, 60s. was set aside from the Worcestershire issues for 6,000 herrings to be shared between the Cistercian priory of nuns at Cook Hill, and the Fontevraultine priory at

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1 VCH, London, I, 486.

2 Ann.Mon. II, 263-4; T. Rymer and R. Sanderson, Foedera, London, 1745, I (1), 56.

3 Ann. Mon. II, 264.

4 Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, R.S. no.57, London, 1872-83, (= Paris), II, 584.

5 PR I John, p. 63. CRP, p.4.

6 KH, p.35; Dugdale, VI (2), 803.

7 KH, p.256; VCH, Berks, II, 80.



W stwoo .<sup>1</sup> In Yorkshir , 'pro lviii illia e all c' emptis et ti  
 monialibus per plura loc ,xiiii l, e x .' wa paid out.<sup>2</sup> Oth r larger  
 nunneries were given ub tanti l o fer'ngs. S aft bury, whos abbe ,  
 Mary, may hav been of royal blood, was grant two cartloa's of wood aily  
 from th for st of Gillingham in 1202,<sup>3</sup> an Ro sey, lan s and pe sion in  
 Tiddleshide in 1206.<sup>4</sup> Gilbertine hou es were treated fairly genero sly.  
 To N rth Ormsby, Lincs, went a small annual **grant** - 12s-6d f om Grim y  
 from 1210,<sup>5</sup> and to Watton, Yorkshire, land in Langdale and Wastredal in  
 1199.<sup>6</sup> Some minor B nedictine and Aug stinian houses f r men al o  
 receiv d grants which must have been of considerable value to th m.  
 St.-Nicholas, Exeter, a cell of Battle, was granted the church of Bradham in  
 1204-5 and was allowed 30s. p.a. for it.<sup>7</sup> Otterton, granted to M nt-St.-  
 Michel by William I, was perhaps refounded by John, as an enquiry of  
 Edward III uggested.<sup>8</sup> To Barnwell, an Augustinian priory, he allowed the  
 feefarm of the vill of Chesterton for £30 pa. and its annali t's view on  
 him appear to have b en surprisingly rancourless.<sup>9</sup> He was proportionally  
 less generous to major houses apart from Reading, which was given lands and  
 gold to cover the hand of Saint James, originally granted to it by the  
 Empress Matilda.<sup>10</sup> The Benedictines, indeed, were forced to contribute  
 considerable sums of money to the Exch quer, although their problems were  
 not as acute as the Cistercians. Like his contemporary, Philip-Augu tus,  
 John thus part d with little in the way of lands and revenues to the

1 PR 14 John, p.58.

2 PR 14 John, p.27.

3 Dugdale, II, 68; VCH, Dorset, II, 74.

4 Dugdale, II, 506.

5 PR 12 John, p.10.

6 Dugdale, VI (2), 956.

7 Dugdale, III, 378; PR 6 John, p.80; 7 John, p.18.

8 G. Oliver, Monasticon Dioc is Ex n' n i, Exeter, 1864-54,  
 p.256.

9 BL Harl.3601, f.26, see transcript, App.III, no.7; RLQ, p.115.

10 Dugdale, IV, 44; Leyser; Kemp, pp.383-5.

monastic or er a a hol . He also at time confi cat d s of m ey  
 n a scale which cann t have b n equalle by the Fr nch king. Yet e  
 g v ge erou ly to the poor at time , and fo nd a numb r of ho pital  
 and a Cistercian abbey.

(8) John, Charity and the C' tercian .

Both Henry II and Richard I gave to charity, and Henry fo nded  
 s veral hospitals. John continued th se royal interest ; the administrative  
 docum nts, indeed, show occasional bursts of almsgiving on a lavish scale.  
 In 1205, for example, he pent nearly £300 bet een May and August in feeding  
 the poor in England, according to the pipe roll.<sup>1</sup> The liberate roll of  
 1204 orders directions to be given to abbot all over England to feed 1,700  
 ,oor.<sup>2</sup> Many payments were made to earn redemption for breaking feasts and  
 h nting on holy ays, a has been indicated. In 1209, for xample, h  
 misae roll allo s 'in el mo inam c paup r m, quod dominus rex bis comedit  
 ie ven. proxima po t octavas A ostolorum Petri et Pauli a d Glouc', lx s.  
 i'i . ob.'.<sup>3</sup> The way in which th mo ey is paid out 'n suc' cases may  
 perhaps s m somewh t indiscri i a . Y t John's int rest in charity was  
 not new, and he concerned himself with the creation of hospitals as Count  
 of Mortain. About four cla'med him as founder, and he was a generous  
 benefactor to others. St.-L onard of Lancaster pr bably came into being  
 between 1189 and 1194,<sup>4</sup> and St.-Leonard of C st rfiel was g'v n v ry  
 bstantial nts, constituting a ref undatio , 'n abo t 1195, v an

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1 PR 6 John, p.xxxvi.

2 ar y, p.95.

3 Har y, p.120.

4 VCH, Lanc , II, 165; Clay, p.300; KH, p.368.

allowance of £6 began to be made from county issues. It was also given privilege.<sup>1</sup> St.-Lawrence, Bristol and St.-Nicholas, Carlisle, were founded c.1199,<sup>2</sup> and in the same year Badley was given an annual five marks pension for the soul of Richard I.<sup>3</sup> In his grant to charity, John was thus prepared to spend capital in return for spiritual benefits. As was also the case with the Templars, his son, Henry III, continued this interest, and pursued it on a larger scale and with a more sincere piety than John, if without his strangely humorous approach.

Of all the monastic orders, by contrast, it was the Cistercians who suffered most at John's hands. He harassed them considerably several times during his reign. The first bout, c.1200, resulted in the renewed exemption of the order, due to the clever advocacy of Hubert Walter, and the white monks enjoyed relative financial peace until 1209-10, when John's need for money became pressing.<sup>4</sup> In 1210, so heavy were some of the fines levied that Meaux and Waverley had temporarily to disperse;<sup>5</sup> there is disagreement between the chroniclers about the total sums paid, but a general consensus that many houses were crippled financially. Members of the order were also forbidden to leave England.<sup>6</sup> The short-term setbacks to the Cistercians were grave indeed, since they also incurred Papal displeasure for a breach of the Interdict. The reign of John was in no sense a high point for the white monks.

Yet curiously enough, John was generous to certain Cistercian houses. In 1208-9 he gave Rievaulx a charter of liberties, and to Holm

1 KH, p.351; PR 7 Richard I, p.15.

2 VCH, Glo., II, 119; KH, pp.347, 350; Clay, p.284.

3 PR 1 John, p.4.

4 Knowles, Mon. Ord. p.366-7.

5 Mon. Ord. p.369.

6 A.N.M.N. II, 265.

Cultram, a full confirmation in 1210,<sup>1</sup> while Abbey Dore received wide-ranging privileges.<sup>2</sup> Marg , who hospitality he often sed, he exempted from his financial exactions, and the annals of the house looked upon him with relative mildness compared with the horrifying accounts painted by certain other chroniclers.<sup>3</sup> The abbot of Croxden was a close adviser of his. John had presented this house with £10 p.a., and his heart was buried there.<sup>4</sup>

It was for the Cistercians, also, that he made his only major foundation, the abbey of Beaulieu. Here he was in one sense following the pattern created by Richard I in his house at Bonport in the Seine valley, yet considering his troubled relationship with the Cistercian order, his choice of them might seem somewhat surprising. Contemporaries certainly commented on this, and tended to attribute it to a fit of conscience for his bad treatment given to the white monks. The trouble he went to for the house was, however, considerable and of long duration, and initially he intended it to be his mausoleum. Its importance in this context, and his motivation, is discussed further below.<sup>5</sup> Viewed by any standards, John emerges as a generous founder of this monastery. In 1203 he gave the manor of Faringdon, Berkshire, to the Cistercians, for the foundation of a house,<sup>6</sup> and in 1204, decided that Beaulieu, Hampshire, should be its site.<sup>7</sup> He laid out the boundaries of the abbey lands, and in addition granted lands at Faringdon, Coxwell, Shulton and Ingleham. He began the process of

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1 Dugdale, V, 603-4; CRP, p.3.

2 Dugdale, V, 553-4.

3 Ann.Mo. . I, 30.

4 Dugdale, V, 660.

5 below, pp. 303-5.

6 Dugdale, V, 683; BL Cotton Nero A. XII, f.1; VCH, Hant , II, 140-1.

7 Dugdale, V, 683.

foundation by setting aside 100 marks, and by bringing in monks from Cîteaux.<sup>1</sup> The close roll records that between 1204 and 1206-7, he laid out about £615,<sup>2</sup> and building must have got under way with considerable rapidity.

Donations were made by other benefactors, including Queen Eleanor, and a confirmation made by John in 1205 shows that the house had already received generous endowment.<sup>3</sup> The Interdict and financial problems, however, postponed further building activities between 1207 and 1213. This was compensated for in the last three years of the reign, when John gave at least £1,200 including 40 m. in 1213, and £100 in 1214.<sup>4</sup> The total expense thus probably exceeded £2,000 and the King gave in addition generous endowments of land and a bell.<sup>5</sup> He also exempted the house from the financial exaction which hit the rest of the order in 1209-10, 'eo quod ipsa est de elemosina eiusdem regis'.<sup>6</sup>

But however generous he was to his Cistercian foundation, it was in Worcester, in the Benedictine cathedral priory, that he was laid to rest, near to the shrines of Saint Wulfstan and Saint Oswald. His openhandedness towards this house was, however, hardly overwhelming. In 1207 he came to visit the shrine of Wulfstan and gave judicial privileges to four of

1 Ib; citing Cl. Roll 6 John; RLC1, p.32.

2 H. Brakepeare, 'Beaulieu Abbey', A ch. Jnl. 61, 1906, p.131.

3 BL Harl. Ch. 58/1/25; inspeximus by Henry III of John's charter; and see ed. S.F. Hockett, The Beaulieu Cartulary, Southampton Rec. Soc. 1974.

4 VCH, Hants, II, 140; RLC1, pp.144, 175.

5 Colvin, King's Works, I, 90.

6. Ann. Mon. I, 30.

the community's manors, together with a remission of 1 mark for the building fund.<sup>1</sup> It was Henry III who contributed much in revenue and in help to Worcester, to make it a fitting burial-place for his father.

To some houses, and especially to Beaulieu, John, whatever his motives, was generous. And although the monastic orders did suffer financially during his reign, it would be a mistake to emphasise these crises at the expense of the normality of the workings of the machinery of patronage. Nor should the importance of John's contributions to charity, which were to be taken up by and developed by his son, be forgotten.

(9) Postscript: Henry III.

It was intended that an account of the monastic patronage of Henry III should follow, but this has had to be omitted for lack of space. His major project, Westminster abbey, is discussed below as a mausoleum,<sup>2</sup> and a list of his foundations may be found in Appendix I.

Early in his reign he showed a strong interest in the military orders, in Beaulieu<sup>3</sup> and Worcester, both connected with his father John, and in a group of houses created by Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester; of one of these, Cistercian Netley, he became co-founder. His grant in Ireland and Gascony, like those of Louis VIII in the Langedoc, a strong political plant; most of the in England went to existing houses rather than new foundations. He did, however, create several hospitals and was the major patron of the friars in England, founding houses for the Franciscan, Dominican and probably the Austin Friar and Carmelite.

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1 Ann. Mon. IV, 395; R.R. Darlington, A Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory, Rogit. I, PR Soc, 1968, p.17, PR 9 Jo'n, p.20.

2 below, pp. 323-6.

3 eg. see Charter granting Free-Warren, BL Cotton Nero A, XII, ff.6-7; transcript in App.III, no.8.

These grants, which were modest per se but valuable to the orders, expressed his interest in charity, which he shared with Louis IX of France. His major project, the rebuilding of Westminster abbey, proved another shared interest, a love of art and architecture, but also Henry's devotion to Edward the Confessor. The church was vitally important in artistic terms and intended to glorify the English Crown at a time of political weakness rather than to promote the interests of the Benedictines. In terms of royal support both general and financial, it is thus the friaries and hospitals which stand out as the particular beneficiaries of Henry III's patronage.

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Fig. III, 1.

Le Liget, Indre-et-Loire.

La Courrerie, quarters of the lay-brothers, with chapel on the ground floor. Late twelfth- early thirteenth centuries.



Fig. III, 2.

Interior of chapel at La Courrerie, now a storeroom, with 'Angevin' vaults.





Fig. III, 3.  
La Courrorie,  
vault of chapel  
from above.

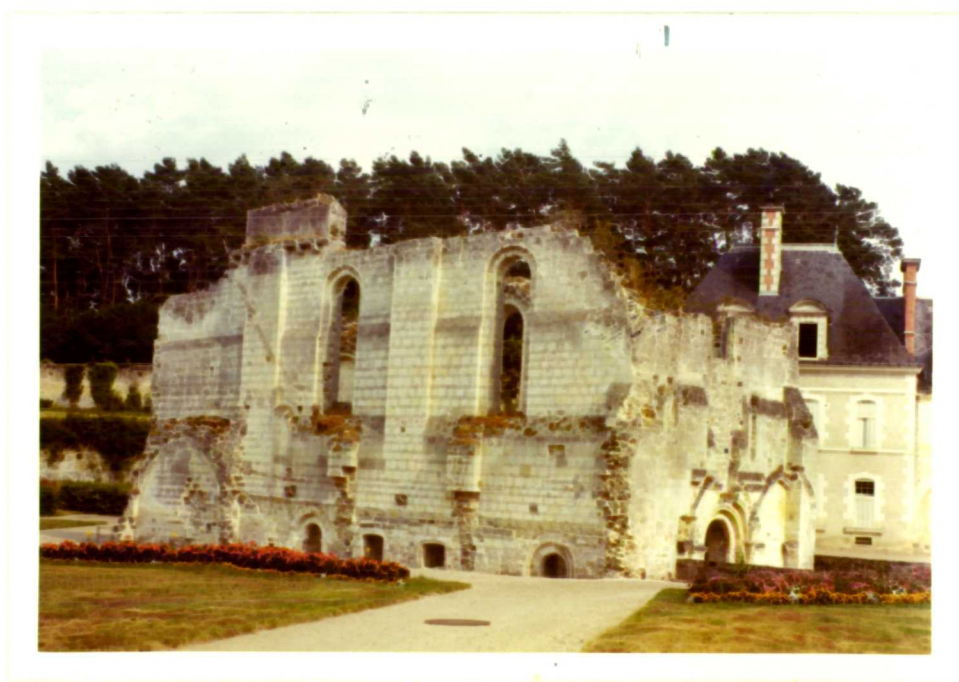


Fig. III, 4. Le Liget, ruins of choir-monks' church,  
late twelfth century, with later buildings.

Fig. III, 5.  
Le Liget, details  
of church, showing  
fragments of  
'Angevin' vaulting.



Fig. III, 6.  
Le Liget, outlying  
circular chapel,  
late twelfth  
century.

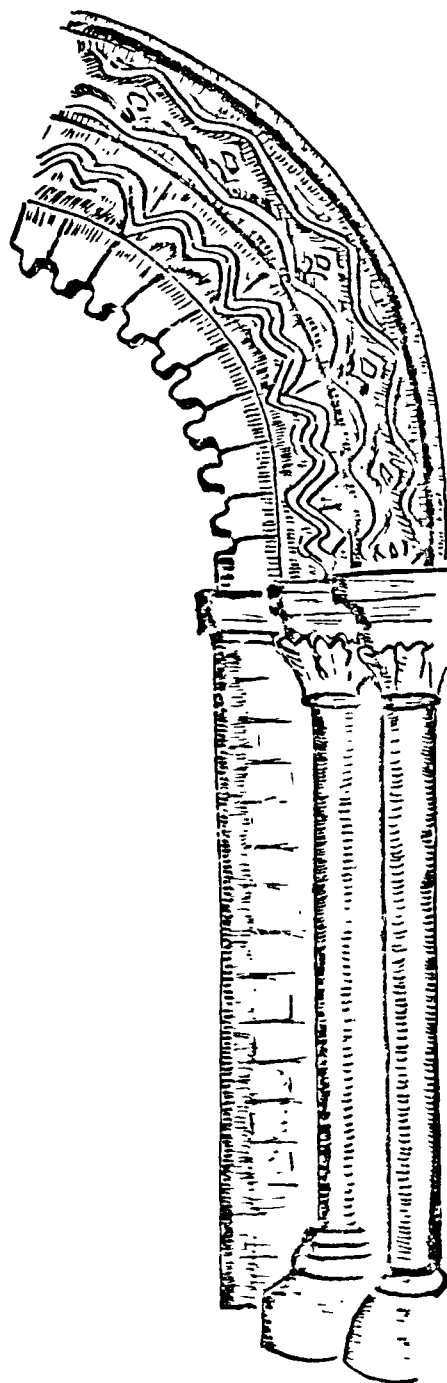




Fig. III, 7. Hospital of St.-Jean-de-Quévilli, Rouen, chapel, late twelfth century.

Fig. III, 8. Chapel of St.-Jean, interlacing arches with chevron ornamentation.



Garway, Herefordshire.Chancel Arch.

Sketch-map of the estates of the Templars' Commander:

Rouen, c. 1695. From AN S 1

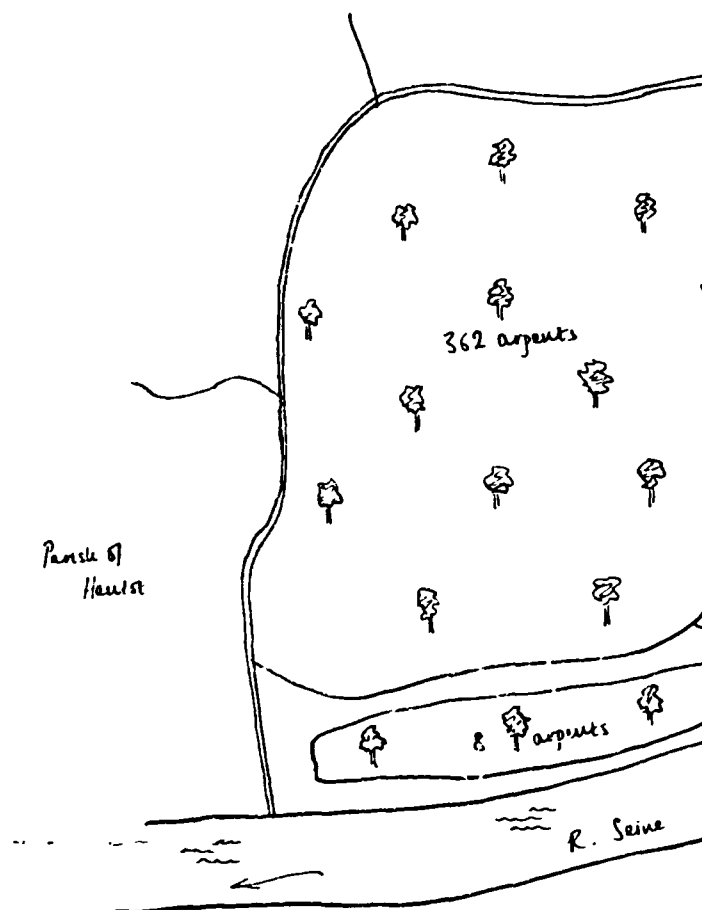




Fig. III, 11.  
Bonport, Eure,  
outlying tower,  
late twelfth  
century.



Fig. III, 12. Abbey of L'Epau, near Le Mans, claustral  
buildings, mid-thirteenth century.



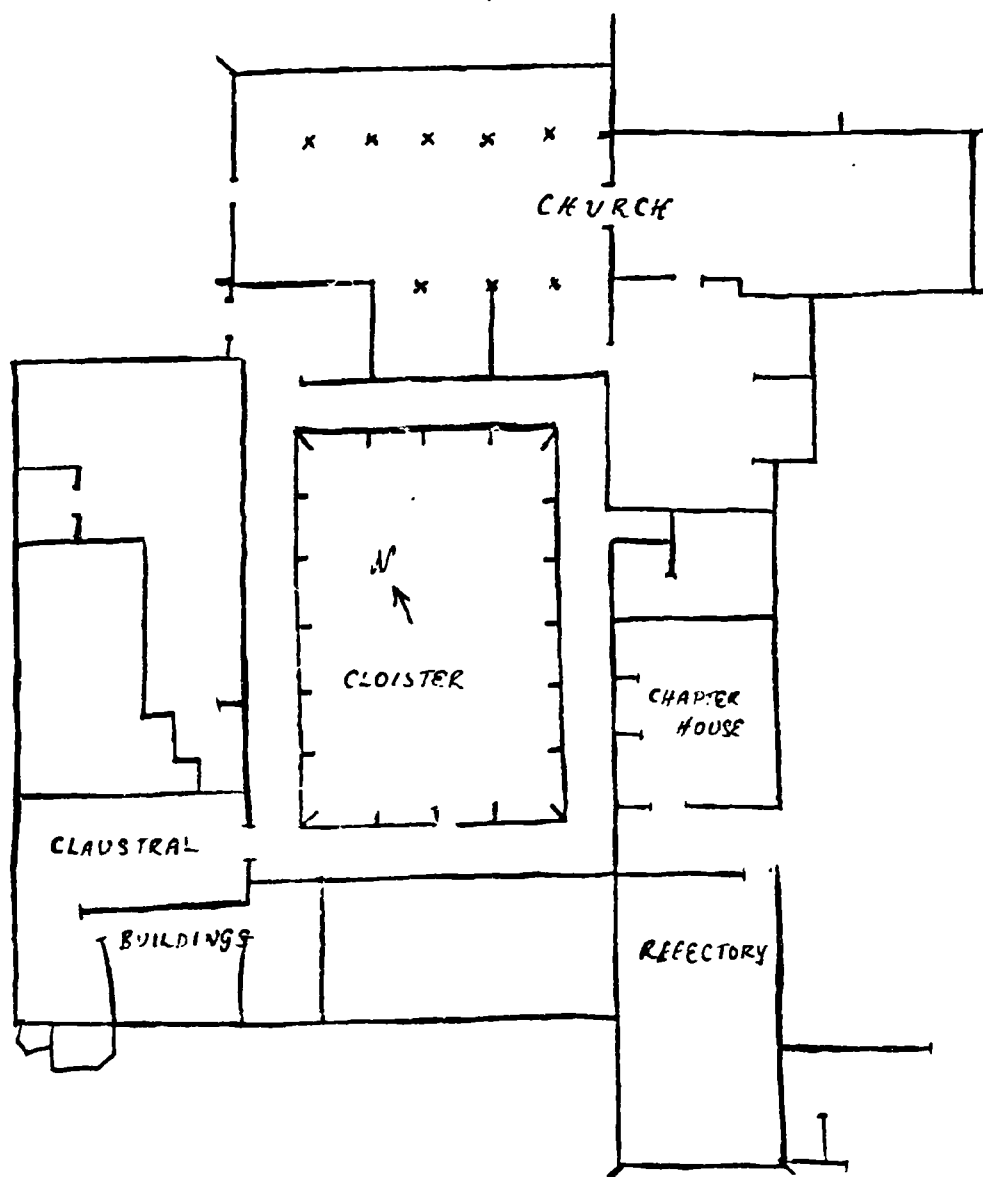
Fig. III, 13.  
L'Epau, interior  
of church, c. 1230-80  
and early fifteenth  
century.



Fig. III, 14. Tomb of Berengaria, after 1230, in the church  
at L'Epau.



Le Lieu-Vieu en Jarò; plan  
from a pre-1789 engraving.





## Chapter IV

### LOUIS VI, LOUIS VII, PHILIP-AUGUSTUS AND THE MONASTIC

#### ORDERS

##### 1. Introductory

In the eleventh century the French monarchy reached its lowest ebb both in power and prestige. The royal domain which consisted only of the areas around Paris, was dwarfed by the power of the great feudatories; the king played relatively little part in the major political events of the times.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Capetians as kings of France possessed several important advantages, and these they used and profited from to bring the crown to a peak of power and prestige under Louis IX. The king of France was a feudal overlord, and the counts of Champagne and Blois, and the kings of England, also dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, were bound to him by oaths of homage rendered for their lands. These, indeed, could be judged legally forfeit when the ties were broken, as with Normandy in 1204. The king also had a special relationship with the Church, stemming both from the sacral view of his office, and from his position as fount of justice. His ecclesiastical domain consisted of the episcopal sees and the abbeys which came under his control. Royal influence was extended into many bishoprics during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and despite the Church reformers' claims for elections free from the patrons' influence, it is clear that kings on the whole maintained their regalian rights to select and approve bishops for their sees and to administer them during vacancies.<sup>2</sup> The relationship between king and abbeys was less clear-cut but equally fruitful in terms of royal influence. The Crown exercised the rights of founder and patron

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1 Fawtier, pp.20-1, 78-9 et passim; C.Petit-Dutaillis, The Feudal Monarchy in France and England, trans. E.D. Hunt, London, 1936, (= Feudal Mon.), pp.76-7.

2 P. Imbart de la Tour, Les Elections Episcopales dans L'Eglise de France, 814-1150, Paris, 1891, pp.438-47.

over certain houses generally of royal foundations, such as St.-Denis, and although by the twelfth century the abbey was no longer to be regarded as a piece of real property, the influence its patron exercised was still very considerable.<sup>1</sup> The king was in a good position to maintain his rights, and thus could normally administer abbeys during vacancies, drawing considerable financial benefits from this, and have a strong voice in the election of their rulers. He could furthermore intervene in the internal affairs of a house, as when [1090-1100] Philip I granted Faremoutier to Marmoutiers as a priory in the hope of reforming it, and in 1092 confirmed the day for the translation of the relic of Saint Suaire at St.-Corneille at Compiègne.<sup>2</sup> The king exercised these rights and privileges over royal foundations, old and new, together with a group of houses where he had become the founder and patron by refounding an existing monastery or by giving the authorisation to build and full confirmations. Their numbers increased during the twelfth century and extended to houses outside the domain. Yet a wider network of links between the kings of France and religious houses was created by the king stepping in to become the lay-defender and advocate in response to an appeal for protection or the restitution of property, as was the case in 1077 when Philip I restored the town of Mantes to Cluny.<sup>3</sup> Such intervention would increase royal influence outside the domain and at the same time benefit the house, which would by its very nature be ill-fitted to defend itself. Judicial appeals from laity and clergy were important in the extension of royal influence, but the constant stream coming from the monasteries were of particular importance as a strong weapon against local nobles involved, allowing the crown to intervene in an area beyond the limits of the domain.<sup>4</sup>

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1 P. Thomas, pp.107-25.

2 ed. M. Prou, Recueil des Actes de Philippe I, Roi de France, 1059-1108, Paris, 1908, (=PhI), no.cxxxvii, pp.345-6; no.cxxxi, pp.318-21.

3 PhI, no.lxxxix, pp.230-2.

4 HIFr, III, 243-56; A Luchaire, Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens, 987-1180, Paris, 1883, pp.91-3.

The special relationship of king and Church was thus of vital political importance to the kings of France in the twelfth century; despite certain disagreements and disputes, relationships between the two normally ran smoothly to the mutual advantage of both the parties involved.

Philip I exploited his rights over the church to the full, and incurred no less than three excommunications in his attempts to put aside his wife Bertha in favour of Bertrada de Montfort. Yet he was not wholly ungenerous. He completed the restoration of the house of canons at St.-Martin-des-Champs begun by his father Henry I, giving it generous endowments including the church of St.-Samson at Orleans, and an annual fair. In 1079 he granted it to Cluny as a priory.<sup>1</sup> He also helped the foundation of his mother Anne (c.1069), St.-Vincent at Senlis, which she had restored in memory of Henry I her husband. He allowed it to hold the same privileges as other royal abbeys such as Stz.-Geneviève:

'ex consuetudine et more aliarum ecclesiarum ad reges  
pertinentium ... liberam facerem'. 2

Yet church-state relationships were essentially strained in the late eleventh century. The power of the king to increase his political influence in and through the church was to be used with greater efficiency by Philip's successors than by himself.

## 2. Louis VI and the Monastic Orders.

Louis VI 'le Gros' was essentially an active warrior king, sensual and vigorous. He had nine illegitimate children, and a shortage of money acute enough to allow him to go to the extreme of pawning parts of his

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1 Ph.I,  
pp.245-8.

no xxx (1067), pp.91-4; no.xcv,

2 Ph.I, no.xliij, 120-1; Gallia, X, 1493

regalia<sup>1</sup>. Yet according to Suger he recommended his son:

'ecclesiam Dei, pauperes et orphanos tueri, ius suum  
unicuique custodire, neminem in curia sua capere, si  
non presentialiter ibidem delinquat, fide obligat. 2

This sounds somewhat like wishful thinking upon the part of the Abbot.

Guibert de Nogent said that he possessed the healing touch for scrofula,<sup>3</sup>

but except perhaps by contrast with Philip I, he clearly displayed few

'saintly' qualities.<sup>4</sup> He was however in many ways a generous patron of the monastic orders. One important rôle he played in this field was that of a defender, for he possessed an awareness of the potential political importance of an alliance with the church as a counterpoise to the power of the great nobles. Luchaire writes:

'Ce chevalier a toujours cru que les devoirs de son  
état l'obligeaient, non à chanter des hymnes au  
lutrin, mais à frapper de grands coups d'épée sur  
les persécuteurs de l'église'. 5

Thus, for example, in 1113 he freed Givaudais, a property belonging to the abbot of St.-Sulpice at Bourges, from all the customs the local seigneurs were imposing on it. In 1115, he restored to St.-Jean at Laon the rights which Thomas of Marle had taken from it.<sup>6</sup> He also used as royal councillors and envoys ecclesiastics such as Suger, and Etienne de Garlande, his seneschal, chancellor and the archdeacon of Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris, who was strongly opposed to the liberties of the church. He maintained an uneasy alliance with the papacy, but his attitude towards the reformers' views of the church as a body separate from the State was uncompromising.

1 L.VI, pp.xxxv-xxxvi.

2 Suger, Vie de Louis VI le Gros, ed. H. Wacquet, Paris, 1929, (= Wacquet), p.274.

3 H.Fr., XIV, 121-2.

4 Feudal Mon., pp.93-5, for a strong view of Louis VI.

5 L.VI, p.cxlvi.

6 L.VI, no.170, p.86; no.189, p.95.

In 1130 he presided over a council of ecclesiastics and laymen at Etampes which declared for Pope Innocent II against the anti-Pope Anacletus II. He also resented any interference with his rights of nominating bishops and abbots, and when the monks of St.-Denis chose Suger in 1122 without his consent, he imprisoned a number of them for infringing his royal prerogatives.<sup>1</sup> He always maintained strongly that royal justice should be superior to ecclesiastical. In 1130, for example, he judged a lawsuit between the abbot of Morigny and the canons of Etampes.<sup>2</sup> He also interfered in the running of certain religious houses, and even used violence in the reform of St.-Médard at Soissons in 1118.<sup>3</sup> Particularly strong control was exercised over royal abbeys which Louis viewed as secular possessions; two of these houses, St.-Martin at Tours and St.-Aignan at Orleans, acknowledged him as titular abbot.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the claims of the Church reformers that the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies should be separated, and that lay ownership of ecclesiastical property should cease, Louis upheld the traditional royal position with great vigour. His successors, indeed, were to build upon the foundations that he had laid. Yet he was generous to the new orders as well as supporting the old, and apart from the causes célèbres of the reign, the great clashes between the new ideas and the old, and royal disagreements with Saint Bernard and Ivo of Chartres, the normal state of the relationship between Louis VI and his ecclesiastics was one of mutual co-operation and mutual gain.

This co-operation is symbolised and epitomised by Louis' close ties with Suger, abbot of St.-Denis. He became Louis' counsellor in

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1 L.VI, pp.cxlviiii-clxxviii.

2 L.VI, no.437, pp.203-4.

3 L.VI, no.230, p.112.

4 L.VI, pp.cliv-v, cxlviii.

1124 and later his biographer. His influence over the king was considerable and he was able to play an important part in, for example, effecting the reconciliation of Louis and Theobald, Count of Champagne, in 1130.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike Saint Bernard and the Cistercians he was convinced that the interests of God and the king were closely allied. In his writings he emphasised the sanctity of kingship and its God-given powers, and although with Louis he had not been given a wholly suitable example, he managed to conceal this with some effectiveness. The interests of St.-Denis became closely linked with those of the crown. The regalia were kept in the abbey - they included the crown, the sword and the oriflamme, the banner of the Vexin which Louis held from St.-Denis, and which was reputed to have belonged to Charlemagne.<sup>2</sup>

In 1124 the king rallied his forces behind it when a German invasion was threatened, with, Suger says, the help of the Saint.<sup>3</sup> Some kind of cohesion of the French people behind their king was clearly taking place, as Suger shows:

'Quo facto, nostrorum modernitate nec multorum temporum  
antiquitate, nihil clarius Francia fecit aut potencie  
sue gloriam viribus membrorum suorum adunatis, gloriosius  
propalavit',<sup>4</sup>

so that the German and English kings were defeated at one blow.

Yet Suger was criticised bitterly by Saint Bernard whose views both upon co-operation with the monarchy and the decoration of churches were antipathetic to his own. In 1127, in response to Cistercian criticism, he reformed the internal discipline of his monastery, and shortly afterwards constructed the East end of the church in an early version of the new Gothic style. This building was to exercise a profound religious as well as

1 L.VI, pp.liv-lix; E.Panofsky, Abbot Suger and the Abbey Church of St. Denis, Princeton, 1946, (=Panofsky S).

2 G. Desjardins, Recherches sur les Drapeaux Français, Paris, 1874, pp.8-9, 14-15.

3 Wacquet, p.220.

4 Wacquet, pp.230-1.

artistic influence, for instead of rejecting subjects of beauty in places of worship as many of the reforming clergymen did, Suger used them as an aid to worship. Through the contemplation of the beautiful:

'Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret  
Clarificet mentis ut eant per lumina vera,  
Ad verum lumen, ....  
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit'.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, Suger made sure that the glory of the French crown was enhanced. <sup>who was identified as the special protector of the French crown,</sup> The relics of Saint Denis, and his legendary companions Eleutherius and Rusticus were moved from the martyrrium to the nave, and this was a reminder <sup>The associations of the abbey with Charlemagne were given strong emphasis in writings emanating from the house.</sup> of the ancient and sacred nature of French kingship. The number of pilgrims visiting this royal shrine where Clovis, Dagobert and Hugh Capet, as well as many prestigious saints had been buried, was very considerable, and this was the pretext on which Suger had rebuilt the church. And when he died in 1137 Louis VI was to join his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

Suger and St.-Denis continued to be of vital importance and influence under Louis VII, and they also benefitted greatly from their relationship with both kings. For Louis VI gave the abbey important confirmations of its donations from Dagobert and Charles the Bald as early as 1112, and began to make more substantial donations in the 1120s. In 1122 at the request of Suger, he gave a full confirmation and safeguard, and in 1124 conceded full judicial rights in the villa of St.-Denis and the revenues of the 'foire de Lendit'. This last was done on the occasion when the German invasion was repulsed.<sup>4</sup> Louis also showed interest in other Benedictine abbeys, and

1 Panofsky S, p.23.

2 Wacquet, pp.285-7; G.M. Spiegel, 'The cult of St. Denis and the Capetian kings', Jnl. Medieval History, I, 1975, pp.43-70; D. von Simpfon. The Gothic Cathedral, London, 1956, pp.83-4.

3 L.VI, no.140, p.74.

4 L.VI, no.315, pp.145-6; no.348, p.160.

gave certain of them valuable grants. In 1130, for example, Fleury received the priory of Nôtre-Dame-de-Lépinois and Cluny was given exemption from paying tolls at Montereaux. Escharlis was granted <sup>property including</sup> four carucates of land in 1131.<sup>1</sup> He supported the Augustinian foundation of his parents, St.-Vincent at Senlis, most generously. This house was given the chapel in St.-Germain in 1130 and the church at Awers in 1131, in memory of the king's eldest son, Philip.<sup>2</sup>

In c.1133 Louis VI and Queen Adèle founded a priory of St.-Denis for Benedictine nuns at Montmartre. The land for the site was acquired by an exchange with St.-Martin-des-Champs, which was given the church of St.-Denis at La Châtre in return.<sup>3</sup> By 1134 when the foundation charter was given, the house had been elevated to the status of an abbey, and the buildings, which remain in part, were well under way. In his charter Louis had it declared that he had built the church and the abbey of Montmartre and described the considerable endowments he had given, including villae at Mervin in Boulogne, Bourg-la-Reine and Torfou near Etampes, meadows at Chelle, woods near Melun and Vincennes, fisheries in the Seine and a mill at Clichy.<sup>4</sup> He also gave three more villae in the Gâtinais, a boat on the Seine and further lands in other charters of the same year.<sup>5</sup> In 1136 Pope Innocent II confirmed the foundation and allowed that the nuns could be dependent directly upon the Holy See.<sup>6</sup> The importance of this house is illustrated by the ceremonies at its consecration in 1147, when Pope Eugenius III, Peter the Venerable and Saint Bernard were present. Louis VII and his

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1 L.VI, no.464, p.216; no.456, p.213; no.483, p.224.

2 L.VI, no.453, p.211; no.477, p.221.

3 L.VI, no.523, p.239, AN L 1030 f1.

4 L.VI, no.536, pp.244-5.

5 L.VI, nos. 537-9, pp.245-6; no.550, p.251.

6 L.VI, no.575, p.262; Gallia, VII, inst. 67.



successors kept up the special links of the king and the abbey, and in 1154 Queen Adèle was buried here after her death.<sup>1</sup> Just before her demise she had created another house of Benedictine nuns, St.-Jean-aux-Bois near Compiègne. This was endowed with lands and a house at Cuissi, and confirmed after her death by Louis VII, who gave tithes of bread in memory of his mother. He added other small donations later in his reign and in 1175 reduced the number of nuns to forty. This action was paralleled in the reduction of the nuns of Montmartre, to sixty, in the same year. These royal nunneries, then, maintained their links with the crown and were both assisted and firmly supervised by the successors of Louis VI.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Louis VI and the new orders.

Although Louis held firmly to the view that the French king should be master of the French church against the policies and the wishes of the reforming clergy, he founded the mother-house of the Augustinian congregation of St.-Victor and gave important aid to other new orders. This situation is not perhaps the paradox that it appears, for despite periodic disputes between king and clerics, the new orders, like the old, were clearly aware of the importance of royal support and patronage. The king in his turn valued both their intercessory powers and their importance as political allies.

St.-Victor remembered Louis VI in its obituary list as the patron 'qui ecclesiam nostram speciali amore diligens, sicut in privilegiis nostris habetur, magnis eam beneficiis dotavit et ditavit', and prayed for him in a special chapel containing many precious relics.<sup>3</sup> In 1112 the king had decided to establish an Augustinian house at Puiseaux in the Gâtinais which

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1 Gallia, VII, 614-5.

2 BN MS Lat.13816, f.439 (no charter of Adèle);  
LVII no.347, p.211; nos.592-3, pp.286-7 (1170); no.690, p.316;  
no.686, p.315.

3 Obit Sens, I, (1), 574.

was to follow the customs of St.-Quentin at Beauvais, but his foundation charter for this establishment was probably never implemented. In 1113 he gave the land of Puiseaux and further donations to another new foundation on the Mont-Ste.-Geneviève in Paris, St.-Victor, which he created on the request of the prestigious theologian William of Champeaux.<sup>1</sup> The house was well endowed. At its foundation Louis granted Puiseaux and its church, twenty arpents of meadow at Corbeilles, land at Uri, the vill of Buci, and other rights and privileges. He later added the church of St.-Guénard at Corbeil (1134) and land at Ambert, and in 1137, land in the Bois-de-Vincennes.<sup>2</sup> The foundation charter allowed for the free election of the abbot, an important concession on the part of the king.

From its consecration by Pope Paschal II in 1114 the house occupied a highly favoured position. In 1125 Louis VI ruled that the anniversaries of its canons were to be celebrated in the royal abbeys at Châteaulandon, Melun, Etampes, Dreux, Mante, Poissi, Pontoise, Montlhéri and Corbeil.<sup>3</sup> The first abbot, Gilduin, was Louis' confessor, and two of the king's children were buried there in the 1130s. St.-Victor became the head of a large congregation of reformed canons, whose interests were teaching and pastoral work within the claustral framework,<sup>4</sup> and it remained a highly favoured royal abbey.

Louis VI and Saint Bernard disagreed strongly as to the extent of royal power over the church, and Bernard opposed the king over the proposed

1 L.VI, p.clii; no.131, p.69; no.160, pp.82-3; F.Bonnard, Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale et l'Ordre de Chanoines Réguliers de St.-Victor de Paris, Paris, 1904-8, (=Bonnard), I, 8-25; Gallia, VII, 656-80.

2 L.VI, no.541, p.247; no.534, pp.243-4; no.591, pp.268-9; no.535, p.244; p.clixviii.

3 Bonnard, p.20.

4 Bonnard, pp.19-20, 25.

introduction of Victorines into the chapter of Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris in 1129, and over the suitability of the Archbishop of Sens, Henry le Sanglier, in 1130. Bernard accused Louis of being a new Herod on this occasion.<sup>1</sup> In 1129 the king's eldest son, Philip, had died, and the Cistercian monk told him that this was a prophecy of just retribution for his sins against the clergy.<sup>2</sup> Yet Louis was a generous patron of the Cistercian order. A letter to him from Stephen, Abbot of Cîteaux, of 1127, indicates that the order said special prayers for him at his own request.<sup>3</sup> The White Monks benefitted greatly in return for their intercession. In 1135 all their houses were granted full exemption from tolls,<sup>4</sup> and several abbeys were given confirmations - including Foigni (1121), La Cour-Dieu (1123) which also received some woodland, and Clairvaux (1128).<sup>5</sup>

In 1136 Louis refounded a Benedictine priory of Vézelay, Calisium, as a Cistercian abbey, Châalis or Caroli locus (Oise). This was in memory of his cousin Charles, 'le Bon', Count of Flanders, who had been assassinated while at mass in Bruges in 1127. Louis had gone without delay to Flanders to avenge his death, to acquire his treasure, and perhaps with the aim of being elected as Count himself.<sup>6</sup> None of these objectives were realised, but Louis evidently decided to manifest his strong regard for his cousin by

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1 A.Vacandart, 'St.Bernard et la Royauté Française', Revue des Questions Historiques, 25, 1891, pp.359-409, (=Vacandart); W. Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Manchester, 1935, pp.200-3.

2 H.Fr. XIV, 374; L.VI, p.clxxxviii.

3 Letters of St. Bernard in J.P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 182, Paris, 1854, p.150.

4 L.VI, no.554, p.252.

5. L.VI, no.309, p.142; no.329, p.152; no.417, p.193.

6. L.VI, no.390, p.182; A. Dimier, 'Une abbaye Cistercienne fondée à la mémoire de Charles le Bon,' Cîteaux, 16, 1965, pp.214-222, Galbert of Bruges, The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, ed. J.B. Ross, New York, 1960, pp.118-121, 186-9, 194-8, 218-20.

creating a memorial to him. He added to the existing lands of the house three granges, - Fai, Comelle and Vaulaurant - and privileges of exemption. This was done in 1136 in the foundation charter. He later granted wood, and the plain near Orri.<sup>1</sup> Louis VII confirmed these gifts and gave further rents and lands at St.-Margaret and Charlepont, while Adèle granted land at St.-Georges.<sup>2</sup> The house was to continue as a recipient of royal patronage and was rebuilt, as its ruined remains show, in the early thirteenth century, with a chevet, in a massive but plain style.

Prémontré, an order of reformed canons with many similarities to Cîteaux, was also given generous treatment by Louis VI. Barthélemy de Vir, Bishop of Laon, a close associate of the king, was an important patron of the order and almost the director of Norbert, the founder's schemes. He stimulated the royal interest there most effectively. Louis confirmed his donations to Prémontré in 1121 and 1136, and in 1125 gave the founder and the bretheren of the mother-house the parish and the tithes of Crépi.<sup>3</sup> He gave endowments to other houses, for example, St.-Martin at Laon and Cuissi,<sup>4</sup> and helped the foundation of Henry, Archbishop of Sens at Dilo. In 1134 the archbishop granted the site and freedom of election, and the king the droit d'usage of land in the forest of Othe, either to build the house or to keep herds there.<sup>5</sup> The house was confirmed by Eugenius III and by Louis VII who added further rights of pasturage.<sup>6</sup>

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1 L.VI, no. 563, p.256; no.596, p.270.

2 Gallia, X, 1508; BN MS Lat.11003, f.1; eg.L.VII no.18, pp.104-5 (1138); no.62; p.119 (1140); no.182; p.158 (1146).

3 L.VI, no.308, p.142; no.568, p.259; no.361, pp.165-6.

4 eg. L.VI, no.397, p.184 (etc.); no.371, p.173.

5 Gallia, XII, 250-1, inst. 31; BN Coll de Champ. XV, f.22.

6 Ib. and Louis VII, no.27, pp.107-8 (1138); nos.45-6, pp.113-4 (1140); no.633, p.299 (1164-72).

Other new orders also became the recipients of royal patronage from Louis VI. In 1131 he granted the Knights Hospitaller the church of St.-Martin at Theil, four arpents of woodland and the royal mill of Fossemore in a very solemn charter.<sup>1</sup> He played an important part in the foundation of three Fontevraldine priories. La Madeleine at Orleans, which was to become a hospital, was given its site by him in 1113. In 1119 when the nuns there already numbered 135 he added the land of Chaumontois in the forest of Orleans - which was the basis of another house - and some woods and meadows.<sup>2</sup> In 1112 he founded the house of Hautes-Bruyères in conjunction with Simon II and Amaury IV de Montfort, for Queen Bertrada, who had retired to Fontevrault. The anonymous Life of Robert of Arbrissel, founder of this mixed order, says that the priory was built 'infra paucos annos'.<sup>3</sup> Bernard of Tiron was an associate of Louis, and the abbots of this congregation of reformed Benedictines christened the royal children.<sup>4</sup> In 1115 the mother-house was given four carucates of land in Cintri and usage in the forest of Milleraie by the king, who added a man free from custom in 1129.<sup>5</sup> Arrouaise, head of a congregation of reformed canons, was granted wine in 1117.<sup>6</sup>

An outlet for charitable donations which was becoming increasingly important during the twelfth century was the granting of money to hospitals and leper-houses. Louis showed some interest in these institutions. St.-Ladre in Orleans was given a carucate of land and part of a church in 1112.<sup>7</sup> The canons of St.-Corneille at Compiègne received a site to build

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1 L.VI no.479, p.222; no.513, p.236.

2 L.VI, no.171, p.86; no.282, p.132; no.274, p.129.

3 L.VI, no.154, pp.79-80; H.Fr., XIV, 164-5; Boase, p.3.

4 L.VI, p.cli.

5 L.VI, no.193, p.97; no.443, p.206.

6 L.VI, no.224, pp.109-10.

7. L.VI, no.151, p.79.

a church for the lepers of the hospital attached to their house. The Hôtel-Dieu at Paris was allowed grants of wine and corn, together with other hospitals, such as the Hôtel-Dieu at Melun.<sup>1</sup> The king furthermore showed concern that fitting intercessions should be provided for him after his death. He founded a chapel for two priests in the royal palace at Paris 'anime sue consulens', as a confirmation of Louis VII shows.<sup>2</sup> Another similar foundation was made in the royal palace at Senlis, where the chapel was dedicated to Saint Denis.<sup>3</sup> This kind of foundation was to become very popular with his successors upon the throne.

Louis VI had an empirical view of the rôle the Church should play in French society, and of the powers he should exercise over it; this was naturally condemned as reactionary by the extreme churchmen. Yet like Henry I in England and Normandy, he also fostered, encouraged and endowed the new orders which were to be the manifestation of these separatist ideas, and in particular created the important mother house of St.-Victor. He clearly valued the intercession which new ascetic orders could give him. These ostensibly contradictory elements in his policy were to be continued by his successors. As the reforming party in the church gathered strength, coherence and a more intricate doctrinal and legal framework to support it, Louis VII and Philip-Augustus became ever more jealous of their rights of patronage over abbeys and churches. Political reality and the increase of the credibility of the French crown as a powerful force meant that beleaguered clerics appealed to it for aid from ever further afield, and thus the alliance of king and individual churches increased in strength. The new orders as well as the Benedictines needed royal protection and confirmations, and also needed royal patronage, which would bring with it both prestige and further endowments. In many ways, the position of a

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1 L. III, no. 631, p. 279; no. 352, p. 162; no. 628, p. 278.

2 ed. T. Teulet and others, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, Paris, 1863-1909, (=Layettes), I, 292-3, no. 565.

3 L. VI, no. 614, p. 276.

determined king of France vis-à-vis the church was unassailable, and was to become more so. Louis VI in many senses created the basis of the power of Louis IX and Philip IV over the church in France.

#### 4. Louis VII and the Monastic Orders.

A monastic chronicler, Stephen of Blois, composed something of a panegyric to Louis VII, for he was, he said,

'ita pius, ita clemens, ita catholicus ac benignus, quod si eius gestum videres et habitus eius simplicitatem, crederes utique quod rex non esset, sed homo aliquis religiosus ...' <sup>1</sup>

Louis VII certainly had strong elements of piety within his character, as his behaviour on Crusade illustrates. He also relied heavily on the advice of ecclesiastics such as Saint Bernard and Abbot Suger. His reputation as a pious and withdrawn man has been enhanced by his limited success in military campaigns against the house of Anjou, whose strength was augmented considerably with the marriage of Henry II and Louis' first wife, Eleanor, in 1152.<sup>2</sup> He lacked the qualities of leadership and driving vigour of his father Louis VI, and he showed a greater respect for the Christian faith. Yet accounts which portray him as totally obedient to ecclesiastics are very much one-sided, for his attitude towards the church tended, despite his piety, to be firm.<sup>3</sup> He guarded his royal rights as far as possible, and indeed in 1141 it took the imposition of an Interdict by Innocent II to persuade him to withdraw his own nominee for the Archbishopric of Bourges, the chancellor Cadurc, and allow it to be

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1 H.Fr. XII, 89.

2 E. Lavissee, Histoire de France, vol III - A. Luchaire, Louis VII, Philippe-Auguste et Louis VIII, Paris, 1901, pp.1-4; cf. M. Pacaut, Louis VII et Son Royaume, Paris, 1964 (=Pacaut), pp.11-12; 54-55.

3 Feudal Monarchy, pp.95-6; Petit-Dutaillis probably overstates the contrast between the two parts of his reign.

filled by the Cistercian candidate Pierre de la Châtre. In 1140 he had forced his own candidate into the bishopric of Poitiers and there were other conflicts with the papacy over Reims and Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup> Eugenius III, Pope from 1145 until 1153, co-operated to a greater extent than his predecessor with the French crown, particularly over the Crusade. During the schism, one Pope, Alexander III, who resided in Sens during the 1160s, needed the alliance of the French crown, and left Louis some leeway in his dealings with the French church.<sup>2</sup> In reality, then, Louis' relationship with the church was one of working alliance where possible. Many royal servants were ecclesiastics, and many had gained ecclesiastical preferment through royal service. Henry, the king's brother, who became Bishop of Beauvais, in 1149 and Archbishop of Reims in 1176, was also simultaneously the abbot of several royal monasteries. The chancellor, Cadurc, held St.-Aignan at Orleans, the collégiate of St.-Ursin, and St.-Sulpice at Bourges in plurality.<sup>3</sup>

Louis extended his influence with the church outside his domain, into the bishoprics of Autun and Mâcon, for example. He also declared that several abbeys were royal foundations when this was patently not the case. He created political links with other abbeys by granting them protections, and Pacaut suggests that about one-quarter of his acts of confirmation and protection were made outside his normal sphere of political influence.<sup>4</sup> In 1137, for example, he forced various unruly Limousin nobles to repair the Church of Solignac.<sup>5</sup> He was aware of the political importance of a strategically placed grant; in 1153, for example, he gave a fair to the priory of St.-Gilles at Mantes in the Vexin, in recompense

1 Pacaut, pp.42-5, 67-9.

2 Pacaut, pp.69-77.

3 Pacaut, pp.109-10; Gallia, IX, 88.

4 Pacaut, pp.80-3.

5 L.VII. no.13. p.102.



for the damage that his troops had caused on their way to Normandy.<sup>1</sup> By alliance with the clergy, and by using the needs of abbeys for safeguards and confirmations, Louis extended his political influence. He also, as patron and advocate, or as king and Christ's anointed, interfered with the internal running of many houses. In c.1175-7, for example, he limited the number of the religious in the royal houses at Soissons, Montmartre, St.-Jean-des-Bois and Faremoutier.<sup>2</sup> He reformed Ste.-Geneviève and Châteaulandon by the introduction of Victorines, and in 1149 introduced Benedictines at St.-Corneille at Compiègne, which met with much resistance.<sup>3</sup> Yet his support could also be very valuable. In 1155 he wrote an open letter to all the ecclesiastics of the realm, informing them that he was rebuilding Nôtre-Dame-de-Senlis, and asking for financial help.<sup>4</sup> He also supported the beginnings of the new work at Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris from 1163.<sup>5</sup>

Many abbeys benefitted from his grants of rights and privileges. The majority of these were made in the early part of his reign as part of the politics of grandeur of this phase. Before 1154 he made about six of these each year on average, but their number subsequently dropped to three.<sup>6</sup> The alienation of royal domain was, as with Henry II, rare. In 1153 the king gave the château of St.-Clair-sur-Epte to St.-Denis,<sup>7</sup> and in 1156 and 1172 granted land to his Cistercian foundation at Barbeaux.<sup>8</sup>

1 L.VII, no.301, pp.196-7.

2 L.VII, no.683, pp.314-5; no.685, p.315; no.690, p.316; no.702, pp.319-20.

3 Pacaut, pp.79-80.

4 L.VII, no.363, pp.216-7; H.Fr.XVI, 15.

5 Pacaut, p.77.

6 Pacaut, p.83.

7 L.VII, no.302, p.197.

8 below, pp.191-3.

These were exceptions,<sup>1</sup> for the majority of benefits given were rights of justice, fairs and some pensions. Many of these last had been given by Louis VI and were confirmed by Louis VII.<sup>2</sup> The grant of 40s made to Châalis from Paris by Louis VI was, for example, renewed in 1140, and was in its turn to be continued by Philip-Augustus.<sup>3</sup> Louis VII's pensions to monasteries totalled about £240 Parisis. This would amount to about 0.13% in proportion to his total income if this was, as Pacaut suggests, about £180,000 Parisis. Benton's figure of £60,000 for royal receipts would give a proportional percentage of 0.4 allowed in monastic pensions.<sup>3</sup> Philip-Augustus may have allowed about 0.63%.<sup>4</sup> Even allowing that these figures are tentative, they appear low beside the 5-8% totals set aside from the English issues by Henry II. This is partly because the English totals include the value of lands granted out to monasteries, where the totals for the French crown are calculated in terms of money alone. Another explanation is that the kings of France allowed further pensions and grants of land to monasteries which do not appear on the charters of Louis VII and Philip-Augustus nor on the 1202-3 accounts because they emanated from the royal household. This is possible for by the thirteenth century the institution dealt with about half the annual expenditure. Louis IX's household accounts for 1256 and 1257 indicate that he spent between 10% of the outlay from it on alms and patronage. On the other hand, charitable donations to the poor and the friars formed the large part of this, and the former were probably, the latter certainly, not paid out by Louis VII.<sup>5</sup> The lack of financial rolls also make it

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1 Pacaut, pp.120-2.

2 L.VI, no.596, p.270; <sup>L.VII</sup> no.62, p.119.

3 Pacaut, pp.120; 156; J.H. Benton, 'The Revenues of Louis VII, Speculum, 62, 1967, pp.84-91.

4 below, pp. 197-9.

5 below, pp. 226-9.

difficult to ascertain how many of the pensions granted by charter were paid out over long periods. It does, however, seem possible on the scanty evidence that the amount allowed by Louis VII in pensions was, in proportion to their relative income, rather lower than that of Henry II.

Individual acts do, however, show Louis VII as an occasionally generous patron of monasteries. A number of beneficiaries were ancient Benedictine or Cluniac foundations; St.-Benoît-sur-Loire received a confirmation in 1137, and in 1138, the church of Lorris.<sup>1</sup> In the same year La Charité-sur-Loire was given a rent of fourteen measures of corn so that the monks should celebrate his father's anniversary there.<sup>2</sup> In 1145 Escharlis was granted the land of 'Valle Luceria' and the rights of usage; Montmartre received £20 rent in Paris (1137-47).<sup>3</sup>

St.-Denis enjoyed considerable favour; Suger and his successor as abbot, Eudes de Deuil, were both royal councillors. Suger had written about Louis VI's prayers at St.-Denis and his rallying of French chivalry with the oriflamme before going to war; Eudes composed a variation upon the same theme for his son:

'Dum igitur a beato Dionysio vexillum et abundi  
licentiam petit (qui mos semper victoriosus regibus fuit),  
visus ab omnibus, planctum maximum excitavit, et intimi  
affectus omnium benedictionem accepit'.<sup>4</sup>

Louis on occasions spent Easter at the abbey, and also celebrated the feast of the death of the martyr. He assisted with the rebuilding, laying a stone in 1140, and being present at the consecration of the East end in 1144.<sup>5</sup> He made some important grants; as when he returned to the abbey the

1 L.VII, no.11, p.101; no.32, p.109.

2 L.VII, no.28, p.108.

3 L.VII, no.160, p.150; no.226, p.172.

4 H.Fr. XII, 91.

5 Pacaut, p.77; L.VII, no.137, p.143.

chateau of St.-Clair-sur-Epte (1153),<sup>1</sup> and he also gave a market (1154) a rent of wheat for the celebration of the death of Queen Constance in 1162, and several confirmations. In 1169 he ruled that no royal officials were to go there without special letters of permission.<sup>2</sup>

Louis was also an important patron of other monastic orders and houses, often as much for the prestige and support he gave as in the value of his grants. In 1170 he refounded the priory of St.-Jean-Baptiste at Nemours. Four monks from St.-Sebastian, an Augustinian house in Palestine, had been established in the castle there by Gautier, the king's chamberlain, c.1147. They had brought some relics of Saint John with them. Louis enlarged the house and built the church, granting it to St.-Sebastian and giving it an annual pension of £20 from Château-Landon.<sup>3</sup> The house was designed to lodge the relics and also as a hospital. In 1179 the king confirmed the donations of Gautier and gave it a carucate of land and freedom from paying taxes on sales, with a full confirmation and safeguard. It is this charter which describes the house as a 'hospitalis pauperum fratrum quoque et sororum ipsis pauperibus servientium'.<sup>4</sup> Philip-Augustus later gave further donations to the house.<sup>5</sup>

This is one example of an interest of Louis, - grants to hospitals and to charity, - which was becoming increasingly important in the twelfth century. The king founded a hospital at Senlis, also c.1170: the

1 L.VII, no.302, p.197.

2 L.VII, no.332, p.206; no.459, p.247; eg. no.111, pp.135-6; no.571, p.280.

3 E. Delaforge, Anciennes Chapelles, Melun et ses Environs, Melun, 1884, (= Delaforge), p.4; L.VII, no.587, p.285; L. Michelin, Essais Historiques ... sur le Département de Seine-et-Marne, Melun, 1829, pp.1916-7; Gallia, XII, inst. 50.

4 Gallia, XII, inst, 50; L.VII, no.760, p.337; p.461; cf. Pacaut, p.103 who states it was a Benedictine priory.

5 Rec, I, 355-6.

foundation charter states that:

'in suburbio nostro civitatis nostre Silvanectensis  
domum hospitalem ad hospitandum pauperes construi  
fecimus' ....

This was done for the soul of his son Philip, and it was endowed with its site, a pension of £10 Parisis p.a. from Senlis, dead wood from the royal forest of Jagni, and an annual allowance of 20 measures of wine and ten of corn.<sup>1</sup>

The king was also generous to certain existing hospitals. St.-Lazare at Etampes, for example, was granted a fair in 1147, together with a carucate of land and a protection.<sup>2</sup> St.-Lazare at Paris received grants of wine and corn in 1146-7, and the lepers at Lorris part of the bread-tithe from the church in 1163. The leper-house at Beaulieu-de-Chartres benefitted from the gift of pasturage in the forest of Yvelines (1176), and the poor of the hospital at Châteaudun from a rent of 40s. (1137-80).<sup>3</sup> In the early part of his reign the king freed the hospital at Mantes from certain dues.<sup>4</sup> These moderate grants would be of considerable value to these foundations, many of which, in contrast to the majority of the abbeys and priories favoured by the Crown, were modest in size. Louis had the ability to make rational use of the resources he possessed which were suitable for donation. He only founded one major abbey, Barbeaux, which was to be his mausoleum, yet, like Henry II, he helped the increasingly fashionable small and ascetic groups of monks. He founded one hospital and refounded another, he created between two and four Grandmontine cells and one commanderie of Templars. Like the chapels he founded as memorials to himself, these religious houses provided potent intercession and some

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1 L.VII, no.594, p.287; p.436; BN.Coll.Moreau, 76, 205.

2 L.VII nos.201-3, p.164.

3 L.VII, no.218, p.169; no.478, p.253; no.714, p.323;  
no.798, p.346; no.170, pp.153-4.

4 L.VII, no.318, p.202 (1137-64).

reputation for himself and his family for a relatively low outlay.

Although the English kings, and especially Henry II, were seen as the special patrons of Grandmont,<sup>1</sup> the French kings were also, according to its annals,<sup>2</sup> generous towards it. Louis probably became interested in the order through the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine, his first wife, and her former tutor, Geoffrey de Loroux, Archbishop of Bordeaux. He founded a few cells and gave donations to others. The most important was Vincennes, to which he gave its foundation charter in 1164. This grants the site, over which the abbot of St.-Maur-des-Fosses, and the priors of St.-Martin-des-Champs and St.-Lazare at Paris had abandoned their rights, with a rent of corn.<sup>3</sup> The house was clearly well established before this time, for another charter of Louis dated 1158 had granted Montmartre land at Vincennes outside the enclosure of Grandmontine brethren.<sup>4</sup> The charter of 1164, on which Levèsque bases his estimation of the date of foundation, is among the earliest for the order, whose statutes prohibited title-deeds.<sup>5</sup> This was to be one of the more prestigious cellae of Grandmont, and several royal councillors were drawn from it.<sup>6</sup> Louis also continued to take an interest in it, for in 1173-4 he confirmed a donation made to it by Matthieu de Montereau.<sup>7</sup>

At about the same time as Vincennes received its charter, Louis founded the cella of Louye, Seine-et-Loire, on land abandoned to him by the men of the royal parish of Granges.<sup>8</sup> This charter, like the one for

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1 Grandmont, *passim*.

2 Levèsque, p.95.

3 L.VII, no.508, p.261 (1164-5).

4 L.VII, no.417, p.234.

5 Levèsque, p.116; Grandmont, pp.172-5.

6 Levèsque, pp.116-7, 134-5.

7 L.VII, no.647, p.303.

8 L.VII, no.475, p.252; A.Moutié, Recueil des chartes et pièces rélatifs au Prieuré de Nôtre-Dame-des-Moulineaux, Paris, 1846, p.50.

Vincennes, is probably genuine. A somewhat more dubious document, however, relates to Louis' foundation of La Coudre, which is incorrectly dated as 1140 in the copy in the Archives Nationales - much too early a date for a title deed - but whose witness list places it as c.1160-1.<sup>1</sup> The text, however, is clumsily written, and unless it was composed by the recipients it may well have been either substantially changed or written in 1180 when Philip-Augustus confirmed it. Another late twelfth century confirmation of a donation by Philip, dated 1191, has the text if not the content of a similarly implausible nature.<sup>2</sup> Yet Louis VII may have founded the house; the donations, comprising the lands, free from customary payments, full rights in the forest and an allowance of wheat bear similarities to those made to Vincennes and Louye. Louis was generous to other Grandmontine houses. He gave the cella of Chappes-en-Bois a grain rent at Lorris (1164-80),<sup>3</sup> and may have helped to found Les Moulineaux, c.1155-76. A charter of the abbot of Marmoutier, probably of the mid-1170s, mentions Louis and Simon, Count of Evreux, as joint founders of the house, Louis having given dead wood and other rights.<sup>4</sup>

The intercessory royal chapel was another kind of modest foundation much favoured by Louis. He confirmed the foundations of his father, St.-Nicholas-au-Palais, in Paris, and St.-Denis at Senlis.<sup>5</sup> He also founded two chapels, dedicated to Saint Thomas and the Blessed Virgin, in his palace at Laon in 1179. These were allowed a pension of four measures of wheat, six of wine and sixty shillings Parisis to light them, with

1 AN K.177, I (6), in copy, with vidimus of Philip; L.VII, no.441, p.242; PA, no.11, p.4, note.

2 AN K 177, 3 (6).

3 L.VII, no.777, pp.341-2.

4 L.VII, no.715, p.323; Moutié, p.xliv and nos.i-iv.

5 L.VII, no.90 (1141), p.128.

extra allowances when the king and queen were there.<sup>1</sup> In 1154 he founded another chapel in Paris, and in 1169, one at Fontainebleau; both were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>2</sup> A charter of Philip-Augustus of 1197 confirms another foundation of Louis VII, the chapel of St.-Martin-de-la-Fôret, which he endowed with 100s. p.a. and corn and wine grants.<sup>3</sup>

Because of his crusading activities Louis VII well appreciated the value of the military orders, and especially of the Templars and Hospitallers. The Templars were important fighting-troops, but they were also beginning to occupy the role of bankers, in which capacity they were to serve the king's successors. A letter from Louis to Suger of 1148, asking him to repay 2,000 silver marks to the order in Paris, makes it clear that the Templars had helped their royal master to finance their expedition. The king ruled in gratitude that anyone mutilating a clerk of the order on his way to the General Chapter should be punished for it.<sup>4</sup> He showed his interest in the Templars by making some important donations to them. In 1149 he granted them royal domain at Savigny near Melun which later became the basis for a commandery, and a rent of £30 from Etampes as a pension, which he confirmed in 1152.<sup>5</sup> This was in addition to a rent of £27 p.a. from Paris dating from 1143, and £10 in 1147 from Lorris.<sup>6</sup>

In 1145 the chapter of Nôtre-Dame gave the Paris Temple

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1 J.Tardif, Monuments Historiques, Cartons des Rois, Paris, 1866, (=Tardif), no.681, p.334.

2 L.VII, no.568, p.279; Gallia, XII, inst.49-50.

3 Rec.II, addenda, pp.2-3.

4 H.Fr, XV, 501-2; L.VII, no.236, pp.174-5; no.239, p.175.

5 L.VII, no.112, p.136; Delaforge, pp.10-11; 1. VII, no.284, pp.191-2.

6 L.VII, no.112, p.136; no.205, p.165; Curzon, p.13;  
L.VII, no.284, pp.191-2.



sixty shillings' rent originally granted to them by the king, with his confirmation. Louis was at the general chapter, in company with Pope Eugenius III, in 1147,<sup>1</sup> and the round nave of the original church, on a plan similar to the London Temple, was probably built during his reign.<sup>2</sup> His wife, Adèle, shared his interest in the order, and according to a confirmation of Philip-Augustus of 1182, granted them Châlon-St.-Aignan.<sup>3</sup>

The king sometimes made donations to individual commanderies. The group at La Rochelle were given mills there together with the renewal of various privileges in 1139.<sup>4</sup> In 1168 Louis granted the order a house at Morin, and high justice at Vivrai, and also allowed important privileges such as, in 1158, freedom from the droit de bateau for boats carrying goods for them.<sup>5</sup> He also frequently confirmed the donations of others in 1163, for example, the tithes given by his servant Thierri Galeran who had joined the order.<sup>6</sup>

The Hospitallers were given freedom from dues on their ships in c.1158,<sup>7</sup> and the king also handed over to them the mill at Noë (1137-80), and in 1152, lands in the forest of Othe.<sup>8</sup> Like the Templars they had lent him silver, this time in the Holy Land, and in 1149, Suger was asked to reimburse them for 1,000 marks.<sup>9</sup> The king also confirmed various

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1 Curzon, p.13.

2 Curzon, pp.71, 83.

3 Rec. I, 87.

4 L.VII, no.35, p.110.

5 L.VII, no.538, p.270; no.412, p.232, (1158).

6 L.VII, no.485, pp.254-5.

7 Le Roulx, I, 198-9, no.262.

8 Le Roulx, I, 100-101, no.120; I, 159, no.206.

9 Le Roulx, I, 145-6, no.185; L.VII, no.240, pp.175-6.

donations made to them; in 1173-4, for example, a grant of a mill at Corbeil from Raoul de Boussi.<sup>1</sup> Yet like Stephen and Henry II he showed less interest in the Hospitallers than in the Templars, and it is significant that in the 1160s, their Grand Master, Gilbert d'Assailly, begged him to protect the order of Saint John and be a special patron of it.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Louis was possibly more generous to the knights of St.-Lazare at Jerusalem, to whom he granted royal domain at Boisjui in 1155, a valuable concession made in gratitude for their help on Crusade.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5. Louis VII, the Cistercians and Canons.

During the first decade of Louis' reign, Saint Bernard continued to exercise a very strong influence over the French Church, and had the support of the Cistercian Pope Eugenius III. Not only did he interfere with episcopal elections, at Langres (1138), Reims, (1139), Bordeaux (1141), Bourges, Paris and Châlon (1141-3), but he also took part in the quarrel of Louis and his powerful vassal, Theobald, Count of Champagne, eventually arranging their reconciliation in 1138.<sup>4</sup> Yet he was also at times ready to compromise with the king, particularly over the second crusade which he preached at Vézelay.<sup>5</sup> Like his father, Louis VII was a generous patron of the White Monks. He exempted Pontigny and Cîteaux from paying tolls and granted Clairvaux in addition a pension of £30 Parisis a year.<sup>6</sup> He also co-operated with Saint Bernard in assisting the new foundation of La Benisson -Dieu, Loire. The house was in fact founded by a local count

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1 L.VII, no.642, p.302.

2 Le Roulx, I, 223-4, no.310.

3 L.VII, no.338, p.208.

4 Vacandart, pp.370-5.

5 Vacandart, p.405.

6 L.VII, no.323, (1137-54), p.204; no.328 (1137-54), p.208; no.603 (1171), p.290; no.687 (1175-6). p.316.

and not by the king himself, but shortly after 1140 Louis with the encouragement of Bernard took the house under his protection and was claimed as its founder.<sup>1</sup> He was given a similar status at Fontaine-Jean, Loiret, by a later forged charter,<sup>2</sup> but the early documents of the house show that it was his brother, Philip, who was its benefactor and the seigneurs of Courtenay its founders.<sup>3</sup>

A real measure of the interest he took in this order was his choice of them for the monastery he founded as his burial-house, Barbeaux.<sup>4</sup> This was based on the foundation of five hermits who had built a church at St.-Acirius and granted it to Preuilly with the permission of the abbot and the king. Other monks from the mother-house joined them, and Louis granted land at Seine-Port at the site of the house, c.1146, together with land at Villefermoi and Grignon. In 1147 he gave the house a full protection and confirmation.<sup>5</sup> This enumerated its original possessions, which included the land at S nard, forest-rights at Beauluc, a mill at St.-Leu and meadow at Aalis, besides Villefermoi and the grants of Aubert d'Avon and other benefactors. Donations to the house from local seigneurs were rapid, and the king gave separate confirmations to several of them.<sup>6</sup> Then in 1156 the monks were moved to a better site at Barbeaux and given a charter granting them the site and confirming its possessions.<sup>7</sup> Louis showed

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1 Gallia, IV, 306; L.VII, no.65, p.120.

2 L.VII, no.775, p.341.

3 Gallia, XII, 228, inst. 50, 57, 66; BN Coll.Baluze, 38, ff.212-3.

4 below, pp.305-6; cf. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort. Biblioth que de la Soci t  Fran aise d'Arch ologie*, 7, Geneva, 1975 (= Brandenburg), pp.87-8.

5 Gallia, XII, 236; inst. 35-6; L.VII, nos.174-5, p.155; no.214, pp.167-8.

6 L.VII, eg. no.272 (1152), pp.187-8; no.335 (1154), p.207.

7 L.VII, no.374, p.220; Gallia, XII, inst.41-2.

constant interest in Barbeaux. In 1172 he granted a small piece of woodland at Beaulieu,<sup>1</sup> and also ordered his prévôts and officials to render it good justice (1150-72).<sup>2</sup> In 1160-1 he gave two charrués of land and 30 arpents of meadow, and in 1176, rights over the river Seine on which the house was situated and a full confirmation. He added to this full exemption from tolls in 1177.<sup>3</sup>

In 1177 the king granted a rent of 100s from Le Châtelet for lights to burn on his tomb,<sup>4</sup> for by this time, if not before, he intended to be buried at Barbeaux. It is possible that the Cistercians modified their statutes to permit kings to be buried in their churches at his request. Certainly the General Chapter first allowed this in 1152, and re-iterated it in 1180, the year in which Louis was interred in the choir of the church - which had been consecrated in 1169.<sup>5</sup> In 1183 the general chapter also allowed a special anniversary to be said for him at Barbeaux; this was an exception to their normal practice of remembering brethren and patrons on four set occasions during the year. In 1187 they extended this remembrance to all their houses in France.<sup>6</sup> Barbeaux with its wealthy endowments was clearly a fitting mausoleum for Louis VII.

Rigord wrote:

'Die ac nocte a sanctis religiosis viris divina celebrantur officia pro anima ipsius et omnium predecessorum suorum, et pro statu regni Francorum. In eadem ecclesia super sepulturam ipsius regis, Adela, regina ... fecit construi sepulcrum miro artificio compositum ex lapidibus, auro et argento, et aere et gemmis subtilissime decoratum.'

No work of such splendour, he added, had been conceived since the days

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1 L.VII, no.616, p.294.

2 L.VII, no.631, p.299.

3 L.VII, no.435, p.240; no.699-700, p.319; no.721, p.325.

4 L.VII, no.727, pp.326-7.

5 ed. J.M. Canivez, Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1116-1788, Louvain, 1934 (=Canivez), I, 47,87.

6 Anec, IV, 1241.

of Solomon.<sup>1</sup>

In a charter of confirmation for St.-Victor, Louis expressed a special devotion to this house (1138),<sup>2</sup> and he continued his father's support of its congregation. In 1145 he granted it the fair at Puiseaux and also insisted that his father's gifts of Orgenois and Buci should be handed over to it (1137-54). He confirmed the gift of the church of St.-Spire at Corbeil given by his brother Philip (1146) and tithes at Buci from his wife Adèle (1175). But he also insisted on exercising his regalian rights of administration and 'election' in the vacancy of 1161 and criticised those who attempted to contravene them.<sup>3</sup> In 1147 he supported Pope Eugenius III in reforming Ste.-Geneviève from St.-Martin-des-Champs, but in his absence upon Crusade, Suger put in Victorines instead (1148).<sup>4</sup> In 1139-40 the king reformed St.-Vincent at Senlis for the Victorines,<sup>5</sup> and in 1151, the collégiale of SS.-Severine and Tugual at Châteaulandon. He was generous to this last foundation, and in 1173 united the priory of St.-Sauveur at Melun with it. At the same time he granted land to build a hospital.<sup>6</sup>

The queen, Adèle, shared his interest in the royal congregation. In 1204 she refounded the abbey of Paçy in the royal château at Le Jard, which gave its name to the new house. This also incorporated the foundation of a hermit, Fulbert.<sup>7</sup> In c.1202, she refounded the Premonstratensian abbey of Hermières which had been created by her relatives, the counts of

1 H.Fr. XVII, 8.

2 Bonnard, I, 191; L.VII, no.19, p.105.

3 L.VII, no.3, pp.98-9; nos.155-6, p.149; no.320, p.203; no.327, p.205; no.166, p.152; no.689, p.316; no.445, p.243.

4 Pacaut, p.79; L.VII, no.244, p.177.

5 L.VII, no.49, pp.114-5.

6 L.VII, no.262, p.184; no.588, p.285; Gallia, XII, 201.

7 Gallia, XII, 210-11, inst.55, 63; BN MS Lat, 5482, ff.5, 11, 111-2.

Champagne, in the 1160s. As at Le Jard she granted the Victorines the site and gave them a full confirmation.

Louis had made some grants to Prémontré. The mother-house was given land at Dameri in 1145, and some mills in 1146-7, while Dilo was given land in the forest of Othe and the site for a mill at Vaumort in 1139.<sup>2</sup> Some time after his return from crusade in 1152, the king granted the church of secular canons, St.-Samson of Orleans, to the Augustinian congregation of Mount-Sion in Jerusalem. The charter of gift shows that this was done in gratitude for their help to him on his 'pilgrimage'. In 1156 he gave the house rights in the forest of Orleans.<sup>3</sup>

The king granted Fontevrault 500s. Poitevin rent in 1146, and Tiron some land in 1138,<sup>4</sup> but he was not particularly generous to those reformed groups. Indeed, compared with Louis VI his record in this respect is poor. While appearing in many ways more interested in the Christian religion than his father, he was more sparing in his grants to its ministers. Louis VI had been in many senses irreligious yet open-handed; his son was more pious yet more calculating. Philip-Augustus carried this second trait even further for he seems to have viewed his relationship with the ecclesiastical hierarchy and his patronage of the monastic orders almost wholly in political terms.

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1 Gallia, VII, 939, inst.80.

2 L.VII no.153, p.148; no.178, pp.156-7; nos.45-6, pp.113.

3. L.VII, no.189, p.193; no.381, p.222; Gallia, VIII, inst. 511-12.

4 L.VII, no.23, p.106; no.189, p.160.

## 6. Philip Augustus and the Monastic Orders.

Philip-Augustus advised his son on his deathbed:

'I beg you to honour God and the Holy Church as I have done.  
I have gained considerable profit from it, and you also will  
enjoy many advantages'. 1

This sums up perfectly his attitude to ecclesiastical affairs. Louis VI and Louis VII had been careful to keep political realities in mind in their dealings with the church; Philip-Augustus subordinated his dealings with the church to la politique. Hence he left King Richard and the Third Crusade in 1191, when Jerusalem was well within reach of the Frankish armies, because he wanted to secure the claims of the French crown to Artois and Vermandois which had fallen to him on the death of the count of Flanders at the Siege of Acre.<sup>2</sup> Some chroniclers played down the calculating attitude of Philip towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Both Rigord and William of Breton praised him as a model king, pattern of all the royal virtues. Rigord wrote:

'Et certe merito debet universalis ecclesia orare pro Christianissimo rege Philippo, quia iste est qui assidue stat pro ipsa ecclesia, eam protegens ab inimicis et defendens, exterminando Iudaeos fidei Christianae inimicos, propulsando haereticos de fide Catholica male sentientes'. 3

Gille de Paris, by contrast, criticised the yoke of despotism that Philip had laid on the church, as well as his unpleasant personal qualities of cruelty and intolerance.<sup>4</sup> He emphasised that royal power had made considerable headway during the reign. It is clear that in his view Philip's growing power over the Church was very much part of this process, and that monastic patronage formed part of the scheme. For apart from

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1 Quoted Feudal Mon. p.259.

2 Lavissee, III, 108-9.

3 H.Fr. XVIII, 6.

4 H.Fr. XVII, 290-7.

a few generous donations to monastic houses, to royal chapels and hospitals, sufficient to ensure the well-being of his soul, Philip kept any charitable instincts firmly subordinated to political reality. Like Louis VII he gave a large number of charters and safeguards to houses in his domain and in outlying areas where to gain political influence was of the greatest importance. But he made this a calculated policy, aimed specifically at gaining the allegiance of the church in areas of political significance. The outstanding example of this is in Normandy, where both before and during the Conquest, he appeared as a generous patron and as the potential upholder of the liberties of the church.<sup>1</sup>

But this policy was also extended to other areas outside the royal domain. The king upheld the rights of Savigny, an important Benedictine house near Lyon, in 1180, and gave a protection to Sarlat-en-Périgord in 1181, and Bohéries in 1200.<sup>2</sup>

Another way of extending royal influence was to hold land or villages in pariage, as happened in 1200 in an agreement Philip made with the abbot of Plein-Pied.<sup>3</sup> In outlying areas, and particularly in Normandy, he sometimes gave generous grants. But this was a marked contrast with the situation in the royal domain. Even a cursory examination of his charters and acts gives the overwhelming impression that he parted with very little indeed to the church in the Paris area.

His authority over religious houses in his domain, as over the church in general, was strong. In 1202 the Grand Master of the Temple

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1 below, Section 7.

2 P-A, nos.18-19, p.6; Rec, I, 32-3; Rec.II, 177. These two sets of acts do not contain identical documents and the Recueil runs only to 1215. The numbers for the Catalogue are given here followed in parenthesis by the page references to the Recueil when the documents are printed there.

3 P-A, no.603, p.141.



had to agree not to sell certain woods without royal permission.<sup>1</sup> The nuns of the abbey of Chelles were limited in number to 80 in 1193.<sup>2</sup> Elections to abbeys, as to bishoprics, were always supervised firmly, although in the later part of the reign several houses were accorded free election, such as Corbie in 1221 and Ste.-Geneviève in 1222.<sup>3</sup> This also seems to have become a regular practice in Normandy.<sup>4</sup> In c.1220, for example, Cérissi, Préaux and Nôtre-Dame-du-Val were confirmed in their choice of abbots. The normal attitude of Philip was, however, very firm. He made bishops liable for military service rendered from their lands, and insisted upon the superiority of lay over ecclesiastical jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup> The church was thus put firmly into a political context by Philip-Augustus.

Owing to the survival of the royal accounts of 1202-3 it is possible to trace Philip's pensions to the monastic order for this year. Following the calculations of their editors, F. Lot and R. Fawtier, that the royal receipts totalled about £197,000 Parisis, the grants of money and pensions, though not lands, made to monasteries, the religious orders and to charity, totalling about £1,228, amount to only 0.63% of the whole.<sup>6</sup> Unless the balance may be redressed by the non-extant household accounts the figure is very low.

It is not until Louis IX's reign that the French house begins to pay out pensions on a large scale. Nor is the continuity of grants from one reign to the next at all certain. The editors of the 1202-3 'Budget'

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1 P-A, no.744, p.171.

2 P-A, no.387, (Rec. I, 529-30).

3 P-A, no.2091, p.463; no.2150, p.473.

4 Feudal Mon. p.267; P-A, nos.2023-5, p.449.

5 Lavissee, III, 280-1.

6 Budget, pp.135-9, pp.96-8.

consider that the whole text of the account has survived. In this case a large number of pensions made in charter-grants by Louis VI and Louis VII have disappeared. Two examples are Louis VI's gift of 20s. to Nôtre-Dame-des-Champs payable from Auvers (1132) and Louis VII's grant of £30 from Paris to Clairvaux (1175-6).<sup>1</sup> Grants could of course be discontinued deliberately, but in England, as the pipe rolls illustrate, were normally continued automatically into the next reign. It seems possible that many of these grants were not made in perpetuity in France in the twelfth century, but died with the king and his seal, and needed renewing at the beginning of the next reign. Clairvaux, where one grant disappeared, did not have its possessions confirmed by Philip, but Châalis, where the grant of 40s. from Louis VI survived, had received confirmations from both Louis VII and Philip.<sup>2</sup> La Cour-Dieu had been granted £20 from Orleans in 1147 by Louis VII, and this was confirmed by Philip in 1188.<sup>3</sup> In 1202-3 it was receiving £15<sup>10s</sup> from Orleans and £5 from Vitry-aux-Loges.<sup>4</sup> The Hôtel-Dieu at Senlis, granted a rent of £10 by Louis VII had had this continued.<sup>5</sup> The confirmation charter would in this case assume a very considerable importance and the pensions paid by the king to each house would take on a more personal significance than in England. Some monastic houses, indeed, received fairly large pensions from Philip, according to the accounts. St.-Quiriace had £55 total, and the nuns of Malnoue, £30. St.-Josse in the Pas de Calais received £10, which Philip had confirmed in 1191 from a gift of Philip, Count of Flanders.<sup>6</sup>

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1 L.VI, no.495, p.228; L.VII, no.687, p.316.

2 L.VII, no.18, pp.104-5 (the act may be suspect); P-A, no.85 (Rec.I, 118-9); no.314, (Rec. I, 421-2).

3 L.VII, no.209, p.166; P-A, no.215 (Rec.I, 287-8).

4 Budget, p.95.

5 L.VII, no.594, p.287; Budget, p.98.

6 P-A, no.362 (Rec. I, 497-8).

Furthermore the amount expended in the Evreçin during the conquest of Normandy was considerable. Philip appears to have taken over many pensions from the Angevins in this area, and to have increased some. The hospital at Evreux continued to receive £41 and two measures of wheat which it had been allowed by Richard I in 1198.<sup>2</sup> St.-Taurin benefitted from the change of ruler. As well as its normal 60s. p.a. and grants of grain, it gained £4.<sup>3</sup> This generosity was aimed at gaining the allegiance of the Evreçin, and diverges from the normal pattern of grants. As in the gifts he made by charter, Philip parted with relatively little to the monastic orders in his grants of money.

The king continued the traditional links of his family with St.-Denis, and its abbot was regent while he was on crusade. Before his departure he had attended important ceremonies there:

'la costume des anciens rois de France, car, quant il movent a armes contre leur anemis, il doivent venir visiter les martyrs et prendre l'oriflamme dessus l'autel, et porter avec eus pour garde et pour défense'.<sup>4</sup>

In 1205 he granted it some relics taken at Constantinople, including a hair from the head of Christ.<sup>5</sup> In 1196 he handed over to it St.-Martin's abbey at Pontoise which was gravely in need of reform. But apart from one charter of 1201 insisting that Renaud de Mello should repair the damage he had done to its possessions, most of his other charities were either confirmations or making exchanges of land.<sup>6</sup> In his will, however, he

1 below, Chapter IV, section 7; hence emphasising the continuity from one rule to another; J.C. Holt, *The end of the Anglo-Norman Realm*, Oxford, 1975.

2 Stapleton, II, 462; Budget, p.98.

3 Stapleton, II, 462; Budget, p.97.

4 H.Fr. XVII, 350.

5 H.Fr. XVII, 30, 57.

6 P-A, no. 503-4 (Rec. II, 92-4); no. 666, pp. 154-5; eg. no. 426, (Rec. II, 1-2).

left all his jewels and asked to be buried there.<sup>1</sup> William the Breton emphasised, but perhaps he protested too much, that the kingdom was the special protector and defender of St.-Denis.<sup>2</sup>

Philip also gave other abbeys some benefits, but they were on the whole confirmations and safeguards. Any gifts he made were very often part of an exchange or made with provisos. Thus for example the abbot of St.-Germain was allowed to hold a postern on the ramparts of Paris provided that he maintained it. Escharlis received 140 arpents of woodland in 1211 in exchange for a right of usage, although in 1217 it was granted 300 arpents outright.<sup>3</sup> Barbeaux was given a £10 pension in 1220 and Bonport an exemption from customs in 1219, while several Cistercian houses were granted protection in 1221. The Premonstratensian house of Aubecourt was given a confirmation and 60 arpents of woodland in 1192.<sup>4</sup> But as Luchaire says:

'Monarque très chrétien, défenseur de la foi, protecteur de l'église, Philippe Auguste était tenu d'enrichir et de privilégier les chapitres et les abbayes, où clercs et moines priaient pour le salut de son âme, mais il prodigua ni son argent ni sa terre; il a surtout confirmé les donations de ses prédécesseurs'. 5

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1 H.Fr. XVII, 114-5.

2 H.Fr. XVII, 115.

3 P-A, no.1173, (Rec.III, 187-8); no.1271, p.292; no.1778, p.392.

4 P-A, no.1985, p.439; no.1881, p.414; no.2099, p.465; no.371 (Rec. I, 508); Rec. I, 508-9.

5 Lavissee, III, 211.

7. Philip-Augustus and Charity, Chapels, Grandmont,  
the Military Orders and La Victoire.

Despite the generally low level of the donations that Philip made, in one area he seems to have been comparatively generous. About 46% of the money he spent in pensions and grants to the monastic orders went to hospitals and to charity.<sup>1</sup> A large proportion of this was based upon the donations of his predecessors. Even the grant of £300 to St.-Lazare at Paris, which was probably the basis of the £240 paid out in the accounts, had been made in exchange for the fair that Louis VI had granted it.<sup>2</sup> Other pensions, such as the £120 to La Madeleine at Orleans, and £8.6s. to the leper-house at Etampes in the accounts were almost certainly based on earlier grants.<sup>3</sup> Philip did, however, make as well as confirm some charitable donations; the 50s. paid out in the accounts to the lepers of Sens may be based upon his grant of revenues to them in 1186.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1180s he made several grants for the collection of dead wood and of other rights to various leper-houses, at Linas (1184), Survilliers (1188), Senlis (1185) and to the Hôtel-Dieu at Senlis (1187).<sup>5</sup> In 1186 the lepers of Chastres were granted an annual fair.<sup>6</sup> In 1189

1 from Budget, pp.94-9.

2 P-A, no.27 (Rec.I, 42-3); Budget, p.98.

3 eg. Orleans, founded by Louis VI; Budget, p.98.

4 P-A, no.160 (Rec.I, 206-7); Budget, p.98.

5 P-A, no.114 (Rec. I, 153); no.122 (Rec.I, 126); no.140, (Rec. I, 183); no.208 (Rec. I, 266-7).

6 Rec. I, 231.

the poor at St.-Nicholas at Compiègne were given a rent of corn and  
the lepers of Vitri, four measures of wheat<sup>and four of wine</sup> in 1190.<sup>1</sup> Later in the  
reign he also made other moderately generous grants - half a mill to the  
hospital at Mantes in 1195, for example, bread-tithes to the lepers at  
Creil (1219) and in the same year certain franchises to the Maison-Dieu  
at Gonesse.<sup>2</sup> In 1202 he gave the prior of Lorris land to build a  
hospital, and in 1222 granted a chapel to the Hôtel-Dieu at Rouen. The  
lepers at Evreux had been given land in 1207.<sup>3</sup> The Hôtel-Dieu at Paris  
was allowed a fair in 1205, and a grant of straw from the royal palace in  
1209.<sup>4</sup> The king was also firm with his rights over some hospit ls. In  
1193, for example, he forbade the leper-house at Compiègne to receive  
lepers from outside the town.<sup>5</sup> These examples typify the nature of the  
grants he made, which were usually dues in kind or benefices rather than  
land. Nevertheless, in contrast with his other grants, he gave to hospitals  
and leper-houses with some degree of open-handedness. In his will he left  
£21,000 Parisis to the poor, widows, orphans and lepers, and 20s. a day to  
the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris, 'ad reficiendum pauperes ibidem'.<sup>6</sup> William the  
Breton said that:

'Praeterea a dando (sic) pauperibus, et dona plurima charitative  
per loca varia dispergendo, eleemosinarum fuit largissimus  
seminator'.<sup>7</sup>

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1 P-A, no.247 (Rec.I, 324); no.304 (Rec.I, 379-80).

2 P-A, no.454 (Rec.II, 43); no.1889, p.416; no.1899,  
p.419.

3 P-A, no.724 (Rec.II, 313); no.2143, p.472; no.1015  
Rec. III, 4-5); Gallia. XI, 521.

4 P-A, no.905, (Rec.II, 467-8); no.1114 (Rec.III, 138).

5 Rec. I, 558-9.

6 H.Fr. XVII, 114-5.

7 H.Fr. XVII, 115.

This pattern of grants is paralleled in his gifts made to royal chapels, and the revenues he set aside for intercession. He endowed a memorial chapel for himself at Choisi-en-Bac in 1185, and another at Bléron in 1189-90, and helped others at Sens and Fribois.<sup>1</sup> In 1219 he granted Nôtre-Dame at Eu a chapel, a pension of £120 Tournois, wood and a fair to enable them to endow six canons to intercede for him.<sup>2</sup> In 1184 his chaplains at Fontainebleau, a foundation of Louis VII, were allowed a tithe of wine.<sup>3</sup> while in 1184 he helped to found the chapel of Nôtre-Dame-de-la-Pitié at the Hôtel-Dieu in Gisors.<sup>4</sup> He also set aside £10,000 Parisis in 1218 for five chaplains to pray for Queen Ingeborg, and in 1190 endowed three chaplains to pray for Elisabeth.<sup>5</sup>

According to Gille de Paris, Philip-Augustus favoured the Victorines, and John the German, abbot of the mother house was one of his close associates. Characteristically, however, apart from the gift in 1198 of the chapel of Chanteau,<sup>7</sup> he gave only charters of confirmation to St.-Victor.<sup>8</sup> His only monastic foundation was, however, made for this order. The houses had two raisons d'être, which seem to sum up Philip's attitude to the religious life. One was to intercede for his son, and the other was to celebrate the battle of Bouvines, where the French had defeated Otto IV of Germany and with linked

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1 P-A, no.143 (Rec.I, 184-5), no.643 (Rec.II, 218) (1200); no.1897, p.418 (1219).

2 P-A, no.1882, p.414; Rec. I, 4-5.

3 Rec.I, 114.

4 G.A. Poulain, Les Séjours de Saint Louis en Normandie, Rouen, 1957, p.104.

5 P-A, no.1851, p.407; no.292 (Rec.I, 393-4).

6 Bonnard, I, 297.

7 P-A, no.542 (Rec.I, 134-5).

8 eg. P-A, no.282, (Rec.I, 374-5).

campaigns further west had destroyed the ambitions and pretensions of King John of England in France. The abbey was supposedly sited on the place where the envoys of both sections of the French forces had met and celebrated their double triumph.<sup>1</sup> Philip made much of the victory, and the foundation and the naming of La Victoire is an example of the emphasis he laid upon the triumph of the French crown.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore he was helped very substantially in the foundation by Warin, Bishop of Senlis and chancellor of France, who had deployed the French armies on the battlefield. The archives of the house suggest that it was Warin who granted the site. In one charter he ratifies the grant of the land, gives privileges of free buying and selling, and rules that he and his successors will regulate internal discipline.<sup>3</sup> Philip's part thus appears to have been almost negligible. The creation of the house had to wait for some years, for it was only getting under way in 1223 when the king died. In 1224 the canons took possession and Pope Honorius III approved the foundation,<sup>4</sup> emphasising Philip as the founder, as did the later necrology of the house.<sup>5</sup> But the necrology also mentions Louis VIII as the joint founder of La Victoire, and it is clear that he played an important part in its creation. He also left it £1,000 in his will.<sup>6</sup> In 1225 the church was consecrated and Louis VIII gave a foundation charter<sup>7</sup> and confirmed several donations made to it.<sup>8</sup>

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1 AN. LL 1469, ff.3-4, 5-6.

2 G. Duby, Le Dimanche de Bouvines, Paris, 1973, pp.178-81, 184.

3 AN LL 1469, ff.3-4, 5-6.

4 AN LL 1469, f.4; Gallia, X, 1503; L VIII, no.63, p.457; no.96, p.462.

5 AN LL 1469, p.345.

6 LL 1469, 345; H.Fr. XVII, 302.

7 L.VIII, no.263, p.485; Gallia, X, inst. 233.

8 L.VIII, no.217, p.478 (1224-5); no.251, p.483 (1225).



Philip thus gained the credit for this foundation but he relied heavily upon the help of the bishop of Senlis, while the execution of the work was supervised by his son Louis. As in his relationship with the other orders, Philip had alienated only small amounts of land and money, but gained amply for his pains. He did, however, wish another Victorine house to be founded in his memory, as his will of 1222 shows. He granted £2,000 for the buildings, an annual pension of £240 Parisis, and laid down that a daily mass was to be said for his soul. This was later commuted to a Cistercian foundation by Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Under Philip the Templars began to hold the vitally important position of royal bankers. In his will of 1190, made before he went on crusade the king ordered that all his money should be paid to the Temple at Paris where it was to be received by a clerk called Adam. One set of keys for the chest was to be held by the order, and the other by the regents.<sup>2</sup> The royal accounts of 1202-3 show that a Templar, brother Haimard, was the royal treasurer at the Paris Temple at this time. The excess sums from local collections were brought to him.<sup>3</sup> The same accounts, however, reveal that relatively paltry sums were paid out to the Templars. They received a £10 from Lorris, which Philip had granted in 1190, but which had originally been given by Louis VII in 1147, and £30 from Etampes, given by Louis VII in 1149,<sup>4</sup> and, in addition £10 from Paris in both the first and second terms, and 40s. Angevin from Evreux. The Templars of Normandy were also given a protection against the royal prévôts in 1205.<sup>5</sup>

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1 H.Fr. XVII, 114-5.

2 P-A. no.311 (Rec.I, 416-7); 'Templiers', p.40.

3 Budget, p.4.

4 Budget, p.96; P-A, no.286 (Rec.I, 378); L.VII, no.246, p.177.

5 P-A, no,913 (Rec.II, 462-3).

The other grants of the king, apart from confirmations, consisted of an exemption from the droits de chancellerie, given at Acre in 1191, a continuation of the right of possessing an oven at Paci (1220), assarts on 50 acres of forest at Chaumont (1221) and at some during the reign the grant of two prebends, one at St.-Quentin and one at St.-Fursi-de-Péronne.<sup>1</sup> He confirmed the donations of his sister Alys to the Order in 1193. This gift was of her land at Sours and its chapel.<sup>2</sup>

Like Henry II and Richard I, Philip-Augustus gave the Military Orders a small number of privileges and pensions, rather than alienating parts of the domain. The Hospitallers were given many confirmations, as for example in 1219, when all Richard I's grants of goods and franchises were re-affirmed.<sup>3</sup> In 1210 Philip granted a small piece of land and vineyards at Melun,<sup>4</sup> and in 1199, made over the Church of St.-Sauveur at Orleans, which had been a synagogue, to the order.<sup>5</sup> In 1190 the Hospitallers at Moret were allowed a rent of ten measures of wheat provided that they acted as guardians of the royal houses near the bridge at Moret, and that they celebrated mass each day for the repose of the souls of the king and his family - a clear example of the usefulness of the order, both in practical and in spiritual terms, to Philip-Augustus.<sup>6</sup> The Templars and Hospitallers received £2,000 in his will, and these were probably the most valuable grants he ever made to them.<sup>7</sup>

The king seems to have commanded the service of many religious as his advisors, servants and envoys, and to have given the orders very

1 P-A, no.339 (Rec.I, 467-8); no.1975, p.437; no.2073, p.459; no.2236, p.493.

2 Rec. I, 545-6.

3 P-A, no.1932, p.437.

4 Le Roulx, II, 120-1, no.1353 .

5 P-A, no.572 (Rec.II, 163-4); no.642 (Rec.II, 216-7).

6 Rec.I, 378-9.

7 H.Fr. XVII, 114-5.

little in return. Another example is the order of Grandmont, in which he took a considerable interest. Brother Peter de Bray, from the cell at Vincennes, was his trusted counsellor. In his will of 1190 the king named him as being one of the royal advisors who should help to fill vacant bishoprics during the king's absence - and the will itself may have been drawn up upon his advice.<sup>1</sup> In the 1180s the order was split by a violent schism of clerks and lay-brothers. Instead of going to Henry II the prior took refuge at the French court, where in 1187-8 Philip drew up an agreement to try to heal the schism at the request of Guérin, Abbot of St.-Victor.<sup>2</sup> In 1196 the king granted 6½ measures of corn from Compiègne, as a pension to the cell of Bonne-Maison near Choisi, and in 1180, gave Chappes-en-Bois a confirmation of Louis VII's grants. La Coudre received similar grants in 1181 and 1191, while the cell at Rouen possessed a suspect confirmation dated 1213.<sup>3</sup> Vincennes was also given confirmation charters.<sup>4</sup>

When he healed the Grandmontine schism, or levied the Saladin tithe and went on crusade, Philip-Augustus manifested the traditional pre-occupations of the rulers of his day with the organisation and control of religious affairs. Yet the other aspect of traditional royal links with the church, the making of donations he subordinated to political reality. His gifts to charity and for the salvation of his soul to royal chapels were however the exception to this policy. It is perhaps significant that both of these outlets for patronage were to become increasingly important during the reigns of Louis VIII and Louis IX.

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1 Levèsque, p.134; H.Fr.XVIII, 8, 30; P-A, no.311 (Rec.I, 416-20).

2 P-A, nos.198-9, (Rec.I, 257); Anec.I, 630; Grandmont, p.170.

3 P-A, no.496 (Rec.II, 80-1); no.5 (Rec.I, 18); no.15 (Rec.III, 402-4).

4 P-A, no.451 (Rec.II, 40), (1195); no.570 (Rec.II, 159-60) (1199).

# 8. Politics and Monastic Patronage - the Loss of Normandy by John.

As in the disputes between the Angevins and Stephen over Normandy and England in the 1130s and 1140s, the monasteries came to occupy an important political rôle in the intrigues over Normandy involving the Angevin dukes and the French crown in the late-twelfth century. Louis VII and Philip-Augustus were clearly more aware of their importance than Richard I and John, and sought consciously to exploit it. Again as with the earlier conflict the image and the influence of the leader were of vital importance, and the church was a vital element in terms of influence. The years 1190-1204 marked the gradual estrangement of the Norman ecclesiastics from the Norman dukes, and the gradual infiltration of Philip-Augustus. Monastic patronage reflected the trend in microcosm.

In the 1190s some alienation of the churches from the duke took place. The Norman ecclesiastics valued Richard's crusade, but not the resultant financial strain upon the province, nor the constant wars with the French king. There was a growing peace party in the church, led by Walter, Archbishop of Rouen. A small part of his province lay in the domains of the king of France, and rather than supporting the duke of Normandy, he came to occupy an often hazardous central position between Richard and Philip. Richard for his part seems to have resented the interference of the church in politics.<sup>1</sup> He was also angry because the Abbot of Fécamp, Raoul d'Argences, supported Philip-Augustus while attempting to keep on good terms with himself.<sup>2</sup> John did little to bring about a rapprochement. In 1202-3, for example, he was involved

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1 F.M. Powicke, The Loss of Normandy, 2nd edn., Manchester, 1961, pp.104-5; and see Holt.

2 L. Delisle, 'Philippe Auguste et Raoul d'Argences, Abbé de Fécamp', Bib.Ec.Chartes, 65, 1904, pp.390-7, (=Raoul).

in a quarrel over the Bishopric of Séez; his refusal to receive the chapter's candidate lead to the imposition of an Interdict by Innocent III. This set the Church strongly against him. It was partly self interest, but also alienation from John as a leader, that caused many nobles and ecclesiastics to favour Philip-Augustus.

The Angevin dukes made some political use of the religious orders, although far less sympathetically than the French crown. Richard relied more on personal charisma than political manoeuvres to hold the province; Bonport, however, his Cistercian abbey, he founded in an area vital to the defences of the Seine valley. It would be very tempting to suggest that this might have fulfilled military or financial functions, but the land would have been more profitable kept in the king's own hands.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps its intercession was needed in the defence of Normandy. Perhaps also, with the nearby royal abbeys of Le Valasse and Mortemer, it created a group of ecclesiastical supporters on whom Richard could depend.

John was not wholly aware of the importance of retaining the loyalty of lay and ecclesiastical magnates, as his quarrels over Séez indicate. In 1202-4, however, he suddenly began to create or to favour conspicuously well-placed communes - Aufai, Caen, Dieppe, Domfront, Falaise, Harfleur, Montivilliers and Fécamp. This could of course have been a financial expedient, for charters of privilege often cost their recipients dear, yet its noticeable growth occurred at a time when Normandy was riddled with treachery, and large portions of it had fallen to the French. It thus seems to have been a panic attempt to whip up support, and was imitated by Philip-Augustus in 1204 to consolidate his gains.<sup>2</sup> A similar process emerges in the dealings of the two kings with the Norman

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1 above, pp.135-8.

2 Powicke, pp.122, 279.

monasteries. Before 1202 John had granted charters within the normal pattern. He cultivated Fecamp with a safeguard, because its abbot's loyalty had been suspect for a decade. Bellosanne was given a £20 rent in St.-Helier, Jersey, but other houses received confirmations - Falaise, Ardenne, Blanchelande, St.-Etienne-de-Caen (1200), and La Chaise-Dieu and Le Valasse in 1201.<sup>1</sup> 1202-3 saw a change in this policy. Foucarmont, a Cistercian house near Neufchâtel, given a safeguard in 1196 by Philip-Augustus, received a grant of freedom from all dues.<sup>2</sup> Fontaine-Guérard, a Cistercian nunnery founded in 1198, in the diocese of Rouen, received an alder-grove, and Le Bec was confirmed in its rights over w<sup>d</sup>ships and marriages on its own lands.<sup>3</sup> Jumièges was given back its confiscated church at Pont de L'Arche, Fécamp a rent of £100, Savigny grants of forest and Le Plessis-Grimoult land at Presles with its appurtenances.<sup>4</sup> Yet this was to have little effect especially in contrast with Philip's careful policy of cultivation over a long period.

The French kings had tried consciously to appear to the Norman church as defenders, upholders of ecclesiastical rights. Appeals from all churches outside the domain were encouraged, so that justice might be meted out and safeguards and privileges granted. Louis VII had begun this process in a minor way. For example, in 1137, he had given full protection to the rights of Le Bec, and granted exemption from custom to all boats of the abbey coming into France. In 1176 he warned his officials in Mantes to respect these rights.<sup>5</sup> This kind of surveillance was

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1 Raoul, p.396; CDF, no.614, p.214; no.884, p.312; no.261, p.88; d'Anisy, I, 12 (no.98); I, 282 (no.73); Cartulaire de Jersey, no.327, pp.417-9; AD Eure, H.1437.

2 CDF, no.195, p.65; P-A, no.502 (Rec.II, 90-1).

3 CDF, no.418, p.139; no.391, p.131.

4 A. du Monstier, Neustria Pia, ed. J. Gallement, Rouen, 1663, (=N.Pia), no.491, p.314; no.566, p.196; no.485, pp.304-5; 'Raoul', p.396.

extended further. Marchéroux was given a confirmation in 1164, and the donation of woodland which Louis VI had made to Jumièges was confirmed (1152) together with its rights in Mantes in 1174. He also re-affirmed the grant of his chamberlain to Fécamp (1165) and others to St.-Wandrille (1169 and 1177). La Valasse, much disputed between Stephen and the Empress, was allowed full exemption from tolls throughout France in 1179.<sup>1</sup>

Philip-Augustus continued and strengthened the links in three main ways. Firstly he was careful to exploit and consolidate existing rights. An important example of this is the dealings with the archbishop of Rouen over the abbey of St.-Martin-de-Pontoise, in the diocese of Rouen but the kingdom of France. In 1185 the archbishop translated the abbot of the wealthy house Grestain to the relatively poor St.-Martin, because he wanted to have men there who were compatriotae. Discipline under this man, William Hibaud, seems to have gone somewhat awry. In 1190 the abbacy became vacant and the monks elected Hellouin from their number while the archbishop was away on council in England. On his return he refused to bless Hellouin, so Philip stood up for free election and called in the bishop of Paris to consecrate him. But in 1195 affairs of the monastery became so out of hand that the king gave St.-Martin to St.-Denis for the purpose of reform. But at the same time he also managed to have some lands and rights belonging to the house transferred to one of his own servants, Hugh de Gournai. In spite of the protests of the archbishop, he managed to consolidate a link with a border monastery. St.-Melon of Pontoise also granted him pariage of a village in 1196.<sup>2</sup> A similar process occurred at St.-Wandrille, where abbot Geoffrey who died in 1193 may have been elected through the machinations

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1 L.VII, no.506, p.260; no.282, p.191; no.665, p.309; no.515, p.263; no.572, p.280; no.729, p.327; no.772, p.340.

2. ed. J. Depoin, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St.-Martin de Pontoise, Pontoise, 1895, no.ccxv, pp.166-7; Gallia, IX, 254; P-A, nos. 484-5 (Rec. II, 66-7).

of the king of France.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, Philip sought to build up support in major Norman monasteries through lands they held inside the French domain. What began as an appeal for help could develop into a firm alliance. Delisle traces this process at Fécamp.<sup>2</sup> Henry de Sully (d.1188) had asked him to take the priory of St.-Georges-de-Mantes, in French lands, under his protection, because of the violence of local nobles. A charter of safeguard was given.<sup>3</sup> The next abbot of the house, Raoul d'Argences, used the credit of the house with Philip-Augustus to force Gui Mauvoisin to renounce his claims to the domain of Boissi at the cost of £900. Raoul was one of the first Norman prelates to rally to Philip, and the links continued, for brother Warin was the close advisor of the French king; grants of confirmation of rights reflect these connections (1205, 1207).<sup>4</sup> Although the abbot of Jumièges, Richard Delamare (1191-8), was a favourite of Richard's, a French royal constable had arranged for the division of the wood there between monks and townsmen in the 1180s on the orders of Philip.<sup>5</sup> Safeguards and confirmations of donations were of no great material loss to the king, but they did much to enhance his influence and prestige.

Thirdly, Philip also made sure to appear a generous donor to and protector of monasteries. This policy was highly effective both in the gaining of Normandy and in holding it. He tended to concentrate his grants on strategically important areas. Thus Bonport in the Seine valley was given protection in 1200, and a confirmation and fishing rights in 1204;

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1 Gallia, XI, 182.

2 'Raoul', pp.390-7.

3 ed. L. Delisle, Cartulaire Normand de Philippe-Auguste, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi, Caen, 1852, (=CN), no.282, p.42.

4 P-A, no.896, p.205; no.1067 (Rec., III, 74-5).

5 C.N. no.19, p.6.



Mortemer in the forest of Lyons received a confirmation in 1202.<sup>1</sup> Both of these were also English royal foundations. Abbeys in the Rouen area benefitted particularly. Ste.-Trinité was allowed the free carriage of 220 measures of wine in 1200, and Bonne-Nouvelle, privileges of wine-pressing in 1204. St.-Ouen received several confirmations between 1190 and 1206.<sup>2</sup> Ressoins was given a confirmation in 1201, while Le Bec received a series of charters; a protection (1189), quittance on rents from its mill at Paçi (1200), freedom from custom at its fief at Vernon (1201), and full liberties in 1204.<sup>3</sup> St.-Taurin at Evreux, which Philip had almost destroyed by fire in 1194, was given a pension of eleven measures of corn in 1201, and a church in 1207.<sup>4</sup> The Evreçin, indeed, which fell to Philip in 1200, was carefully consolidated. A comparison of the 1202-3 French royal accounts and the Norman pipe roll of 1198 show that many Angevin pensions were continued and others augmented.<sup>5</sup> Where in 1198 Richard had spent the equivalent of £105 Parisian, Philip spent £143 in 1202-3.<sup>6</sup> 100s. was given to Nôtre-Dame at Evreux for the anniversary of Count Simon who had ceded the province in 1200.<sup>7</sup> Philip also continued to make grants in this area. Ivry received a fair in 1205,<sup>8</sup> and Lire, safeguards for its rents in 1203 and 1204.<sup>9</sup> This generosity was

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1 P-A, no.637 (Rec.II, 212-3); no.843-4, (Rec.II, 400-402); C.N. no.64, p.13.

2 C.N. no.1068, p.282; nos.1051-2, p.274; no.59, p.12; N.Pia, p.614-5.

3 N.Pia, p.713; P-A, no.258, (Rec.I, 245-6); no.631 (Rec.II, 205-6); no.662 (Rec.II, 230-1); no.827 (Rec.II, 383-4).

4 C.N. no.60, p. 282-3; Gallia, XI, 626.

5 above, pp.199.

6 J.R. Baldwin, 'Philip-Augustus and the Norman Church', French Historical Studies, 6, 1969, pp.2-3.

7 Budget, p.97.

8 C.N. no.1081, p.290.

9 P-A, no.781 (Rec.II, 333-4); no.886, p.202; Vet. Mon., I, 1042.

extended to other important areas. St.-Jean at Falaise was given a fair in 1204 and £37.-10s. p.a. rent to provide chaplains for the royal chapel (1205); Fontaine-Guérard, sixty acres' assarts in 1209.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Bonport was allowed milling rights. Confirmations were also frequently granted, for example to Fécamp (1207), and to St.-Wandrille (1205).<sup>2</sup>

Philip showed generosity towards the church in other ways. He stood up for free election at St.-Martin-de-Pontoise, and in 1200 allowed the chapter of Evreux to elect their bishop freely, which contrasted well with John's dealings in Séz. He attempted to impress the Norman church with his open-handedness, and the other grants he made, together with the privileges he issued to the communes after the conquest, suggest that he was trying to gain political support by every possible means. Once Normandy was within his grasp he could afford to be firmer. John's panic-stricken attempts to gain backing from the church and the communes in 1203-4 profited him little against the 'liberator' of the province.

The use of monastic patronage for political ends emerges clearly in the dealing of the French Crown with the Norman monasteries. The French king clearly appreciated the importance of the image of the ruler amongst his people more realistically than the English. By his cultivation of important men, the communes and the monasteries, Philip was able to consolidate his gains without the strong opposition that might have come from men truly devoted to the Angevin cause.

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1 P-A. no.925, (Rec.II, 486-7); no.1121 (Rec.III, 156-7); no.1122 (Rec.III, 157-8); CN. no.1070, p.283.

2 C.N. no.1075, p.285; P-A. no.1067 (Rec.III, 74-5).